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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY  
OF EFFORTS AT CHRISTIAN  
REUNION



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**SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co. LTD.**

# An Introduction to the Study of Efforts at Christian Reunion

BY

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## PREFACE.

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The aim of this volume is to pave the way for a temperate discussion of Reunion problems by surveying the whole matter in the broadest outline.

If the concept of sin in general has needed definition, the concept of the sin of schism in particular needs it no less.

The treatment in the three chapters which follow is historical and comparative, and deals with sect-phenomena inside and outside the Christian religion.

Reunion is the dominant religious topic at the moment. But it can never be seriously promoted without a sense of proportion and a clear understanding of the part which sect-phenomena play in religious development, not only on the part of those who lead, but also, what is far more important, on the part of the great mass of Christians. A mere academic or paper agreement among a minority is useless.

The nucleus of the three chapters was originally delivered in the form of lectures to a gathering of Anglican and Free Church clergy in the Manchester district last March. It has been entirely re-written

## PREFACE.

and enlarged, and two Appendices and a Bibliography have been added.

The author hopes that the survey of Hindu and other sects, and the excursions into the byways of Christian sectarianism will not create a false impression of disloyalty to the office he holds. He firmly believes in the supremacy of Our Saviour, and in the promise of the Anglican position, but he believes also that domestic differences in the ecclesiastical sphere are often healed by change to more bracing air and wider views, and that sin and development have at times been woefully confused.

A. C. B.

ALTRINCHAM,

*April, 1914.*

N.B.—I have to thank the Rev. Hewlett Johnson for giving me permission to reprint an article on Sacraments, which I originally wrote for the "Interpreter." Other acknowledgments will be found in the footnotes or in the Bibliography.

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“As it is noted by one of the Fathers, Christ’s coat indeed had no seam ; but the Church’s vesture was of many colours ; whereupon he saith : ‘in veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.’ They be two things, unity and uniformity.”

BACON. ESSAYS.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE NATURE OF SECTS.

THE saying, "tot homines tot  
**Assumptions.** sententiae, tot sententiae tot dei," is  
the motto of pure agnosticism in  
religion. If nothing can be known save each man's  
impression, and nothing more, then an advance in  
knowledge of any kind is unthinkable. Yet this  
attitude is certainly not maintained to-day by  
students of natural philosophy, and if it be conceded  
that our senses of smell, colour, and taste, and our  
ability to count and to perform simple inductive acts  
of reasoning—that these things can yield results  
which by co-ordination gain authority; if know-  
ledge of the laws of the natural world be the fruit  
of sober experience, why should we stop short, and  
not concede also that the religious sense can yield  
equally authoritative results, and that the fruit of  
sober and united religious experience has also a  
right to be treated respectfully and to possess  
authority?

I shall assume in the following pages that this  
authority is worthy of acceptance. I shall go a  
step further than the writer of "Varieties of  
Religious Experience," and ask leave to co-ordinate  
the experience of societies as well as that of



individuals. I shall also assume that the Christian religion stands to other religions as the most perfect art of the world to other art, as the most perfect government of the world to other government, as the most perfect sculpture of the world to other sculpture, as the most perfect philosophy of the world to other philosophy, as the most perfect science of the world to other science. Each perfection or flower of human enterprise is, I take it, a blossoming forth due to the perfect conjunction of the Divine Spirit and man's spirit at some definite time and in some definite place.

**Statement of  
the Problem.**

It is a source of great distress to many earnest minds that the beautiful Christian spirit of unity and brotherly love should be caricatured by a multitude of jarring sects. They grieve bitterly that the seamless robe of Christ should be rent. Others turn impatiently from sectarian strife and exclaim with Pope:

"For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;  
He can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."

Yet they are compelled to derive their knowledge of the right, if not from the example, at least from the teaching of the same graceless zealots!

Impatience would seem to be useless. The blessed scientific methods of the last hundred years lead us to face the existence of all these sects or

followings and to enquire their meaning. Here is a set of religious phenomena. What does it involve? The Spirit of Christ after nearly two thousand years does not seem to be such a spirit of unity after all. Is this a confession of failure? Or are we still learning, still moving, and is the journey of the Universal Church, far from being "well-nigh done," even yet in its earlier stages?

Such questions are worth asking seriously at a time when a certain East African Conference (held last year) has precipitated the question of Christian reunion, and in the correspondence column of nearly every newspaper some treatment of the question, more or less ill-considered and unworthy, has scandalised the devout, and given the enemy just occasion to blaspheme; while a stream of open letters and pamphlets has been issued for the purpose of informing and canvassing religious public opinion.

Let us refrain from discussing what happened at Kikuyu. The episode does not stand alone. Since its disclosure, frank confessions from all quarters have shown that it was less of a novelty than even those who took part in it deemed it to be. Meanwhile a formal protest, and the artificial inflation of excitement by the cheap press have made it, like the Anglico-Lutheran Jerusalem bishopric of early Victorian days, into a sort of test case, have focussed public attention upon it, and forced

the leaders of the Anglican Communion to a decision which I suppose could hardly have been postponed much longer.

The matter at the time I write is still "sub judice," nor will it ever be settled by a paper agreement, drawn up in camera. Let us therefore turn away and cool our tempers and refresh our minds by what looks like a mere academic discussion—though it really is not. Let us enquire whether as a matter of historical fact sectarianism is not a feature of all institutional religions. Let us next trace the course of Christian sectarianism to the present day. Lastly, let us enquire whether the Christian religion, while it is subject to the necessity of sharing in the vicissitudes of all institutional religions, may not nevertheless show signs of triumphing over them (just as it shows signs of triumphing in the moral sphere, inducing internationalism to such an extent that the world seems likely to grow to a unity sooner than the Church,) and causing a loose federation of Christian communities to supersede the decadent Latin imperialism of the Mediterranean Church.

**Definition of  
a Sect.**

What is a Sect? Not necessarily a schism. Some have connected it with the verb "sequor," and quote in support the phrase "sectam sequi," "to follow a party in politics." Others point out that "secta" denotes a narrow beaten

path, and suggest that its origin may be found in the phrase "secare viam," "to carve or clear out a path through obstructions." Whatever its derivation, its later meaning is certainly that of a following or party, not a section or *cutting off*, but rather a *cutting out*. Like the Greek "*αἵρεσις*," "sectam sequi" implies a choice, the deliberate following of a certain leader or teacher, the deliberate pursuit of a certain selected path, the deliberate adoption of a certain point of view. It implies fellowship or "group" action, for a path can only be well-worn and distinct when many feet have trodden it.\* A sect may or may not be organised. It may be a conservative rather than a progressive movement. It may exist as a party, or school, or isolated (and in some cases excommunicated) remnant within the parent body. It may secede, and then lapse into a state of suspended animation, or burst in consequence of the secession into exuberant life and activity.

**Extent of Sect-Phenomena.** *Extent of sects.* Before we venture upon any kind of classification, it will be well to survey the extent of sect-phenomena. Broadly speaking, two types of religion are allowed to exist in the

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\* We note that the earliest title of the Christian Society is "The Way," Acts ix, 2 ; xix, 9, 23 ; xxiv, 22.

See also the Buddhist expression "The Noble Eightfold Path," and the allegory of "The Two Ways."

world, "natural" and "founded." As a matter of fact they somewhat overlap, for although we may take the Mexican as an example of the former, and the Mohammedan as an example of the latter sort, yet the Jewish religion is admittedly composite, a natural growth, akin to many other Semitic nature-religions, moulded and refined by the agency of Moses and the prophets; while founded religions, whether permanent or merely ephemeral, take their rise as sects within older systems. Such are the achievements of Zarathustra, of Akhnaton, of Buddha. Moreover, even "natural religion" must owe its foundation to the experience of some human being, whether he be Adam or Man Friday. Still for purposes of convenience we will adopt the two-fold division, and in both types I hold that sect-phenomena occur.

**In Animism and Totemism.** Let us go back as far as we can. Mr. Marett\* observes somewhere that Man Friday did not evolve his creed in solitude out of his inner consciousness. Men thought it out together. Whole periods of living and thinking together have gone to make them what they are. What do we find in these early periods? The answer may be given in two words: Animism and Totemism. No one suggests for a moment that there is any kind of uniformity in the cults of

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\*"Anthropology," R. R. Marett.



primitive man. Greatly as they resemble one another, they concern themselves with a rich diversity of spiritual beings. Every group, every clan, every family, may busy itself in the establishment of friendly relations with a different spirit, associated with a different tree, or spring, or mountain. Some spirits may be more powerful than others, so that Naaman is glad to take a sod of the ground presided over by Yahweh into the territory of Rimmon, because Yahweh can cure leprosy and Rimmon can not, and the patronage of Yahweh is therefore to be preferred, even at the risk of becoming a dissenter or an occasional conformist. Totemism may be primitive zoology, but it certainly involves a most remarkable variety of religious cults, and has existed in places sufficiently far apart from one another as Peru, Polynesia, the Punjab, and Western Australia. There is as much difference between the religious services of the witchetty-grub men, the kangaroo men, and the honey-ant totemites, as between those of a Freemason, a Presbyterian, and an Irish Romanist, who may yet belong to the same house or street. The various clans of the Iroquois had different totems, yet the Iroquois were one people. Alliances and fusions of races are responsible for further sect-phenomena. In different places the wolf, roe, goat, lizard, swan and eagle, were offered to Apollo, which fact suggests that considerable

local variations in his worship were permissible. Among the Hebrews we know that there was a diversity of cults, so that it was possible for Moloch, Ashtaroath, and Chemosh to rival Yahweh, while the little local Baals always commanded a certain amount of attention.

This leads us on to the sect-  
**In Polytheism.** phenomena of the great polytheistic systems. Within certain limits it was possible and natural for the ancient inhabitant of Mexico, Assyria, or Egypt, to select his "denomination." If the Mexican desired health, he might confine his devotions to Ixtlilton, the Mexican Aesculapius. If an Egyptian were born at Bubastis, he would naturally cultivate the favour of Bast, rather than of Amen-Ra. The Scandinavian sailor would seek the protection of Aegir; the warrior, that of Thor. In any of the great organised societies where polytheism prevailed, Hellas, Mesopotamia, Rome, North India, or pre-Buddhist Japan, the diversity of temples must have been quite as striking as the diversity of churches and chapels in England to-day. Hindu popular religion still shows a certain element of rivalry between the devotees of different deities. It is not my purpose in these pages to enter into a detailed examination of the various groups. That has been done elsewhere, and would not be in proportion here. Let us be content to note two important facts. First,

the obvious similarity between the groups, due to the exigencies of human nature. A minor instance of this would be the fearsome Churels of India and the Ciuapipiltin of Mexico, both of them the spirits of women who had died in childbed, and who were therefore supposed to need pacification. Better instances are to be found in the various sun gods, such as Baldur, Quetzalcoatl, and Pushan, and mother-goddesses, such as Isis, Freya, and Demeter. In the second place let us note the tendency towards unification, sometimes followed by an opposite and retrograde movement back to polytheism. In Babylon, Marduk gathers up and absorbs the acts and functions of supreme power and dignity hitherto predicated of other and older gods. He gathers into his own hands, as it were, the capabilities and rights of all deities subordinated to him. In Vedic mythology the number of spiritual beings invoked is indefinitely great, anything, in fact, between thirty-three and a million. But each god makes his appearance under different names, and the Vedic hymns often seem to present a mysterious personality, clothed with many attributes. Something of the same process is to be seen in Greek mythology. On the other hand we find the vague Vedic monotheism of an earlier, and the higher Hindu Pantheism of a later date forsaken in favour of a revived polytheism, Buddhism adopting and fusing with animistic cults, Mohammedanism in some

localities lapsing into the worship of an eminent holy man and Christian monotheism disappearing under a host of saints, who in some cases are merely canonised heathen deities, in others, heroes who have received apotheosis. In this connection we may note that it is just as natural for an Italian pawnbroker to invoke St. Nicholas rather than Christ, as for a nonconformist grocer to resort to the particular little Beulah or Bethel which he has helped to build, or the small jeweller to the local railway hotel, there to enact the masonic mysteries of a suburban lodge.

From these two points I venture to suggest two conclusions. First, that the human soul everywhere tends to produce religious variations of a similar description. This, of course, is an obvious conclusion. Second, that even if the pendulum swings between monotheism and polytheism, it never can swing so far as to get beyond the vanishing point of diversity. Religious diversity from the outset supplies a fundamental human need, a need similarly expressed among widely distant races.

**The Great  
Religions.**

I now propose to go a step further in this survey. We shall examine in some detail the sect-phenomena in later Hinduism (post-Vedic). This we shall find to be a sort of chain of "founded religions" rising and falling upon a basis of polytheism. There is no one man or movement whence it derived its birth.

We shall next examine the sect-phenomena in Buddhism, which even if it seem the negation of what is commonly understood by religion, has nevertheless branched out very marvellously into a number of societies of marked religious value. Thirdly we shall examine Islam, the founded religion par excellence, the monotheism of one man, richly differentiated. I omit Christianity because from the nature of our enquiry it needs a chapter to itself.

The insufficiency of our know-

**I. Hinduism.** ledge has prevented anyone from producing a standard and comprehensive history of Hindu religion, and generalisations are therefore dangerous. The fact is even now frequently forgotten that India is a continent, and that in creed as well as in race there are immense cleavages among the 217 millions who in the census of 1911 described themselves as practising Hinduism. Most of them are pure polytheists, and we are bound to consider as well the existence of three million Sikhs, and ten and a half million Animists. The earnest and thoughtful Hindu of to-day is apt to plead that if a return was made to the ancient faith as taught in his sacred books, free from later additions and disguises, it would be found sweet and good and all-sufficing for his spiritual needs. Yet he cannot claim that there is any greater unity about the higher Hinduism

than there is about the numerous types of Christianity with which he is confronted. The pendulum may swing towards philosophic thought and speculative Brahmanism, and at once there come into view no less than six recognised philosophical systems, each with its separate founder ; it may swing in the opposite direction and immediately a host of theistic sects springs into existence. Between the two points lie the greater part of the popular or sectarian religions of India.

An early and widely prevalent form of the popular religion was that of the Bhagavatas, or Worshippers of The Adorable One. It may have been influenced by Christianity. It identified many of the Hindu gods as various aspects of a personal and supreme being, whose chief attribute was grace or mercy, and to whom bhakti or devotion was due. Dr. Grierson states that its founder was one Krishna Vasudeva, who lived centuries before Christ. This faith was revived in the twelfth century A.D., and divided into four sampradayas or sects. These are the Sanakadi, the S'ri, the Brahma, and the Rudra.

The two broad divisions of Hinduism are Vaishnavism and S'aivism. With very few exceptions every Hindu can be classified as belonging to the one or the other. Vaishnavism is the larger division. S'aivism, the smaller, preponderates in the south.



Vaishnavism and the Bhagavata

**Vaishnavism.** form of religion are in many respects identical. There is, of course, a mythological aspect, but this is chiefly due to the elaboration of the stories of the various avatars or incarnations of Vishnu. The *guru*, or religious teacher, is widely revered, and in consequence, every guru of ability has founded a sect. Hence the immense number of ramifications and subdivisions. Each guru has transmitted his authority and sacred character to a line of successors, whose living personality often overshadows that of the original guru himself. These successors possess almost unbounded authority over their disciples. They are invested with semi-divine power; and many of them have been in the habit of making yearly or half-yearly progresses through the districts under their influence, when all the boys of a certain age receive from them something approaching the Christian confirmation.

Probably the most celebrated of these gurus was Ramanuja, who was born near Madras at the beginning of the twelfth century. The greater part of his life was spent in South India, but persecution drove him into the country of Mysore, where he founded some important communities. Of the three chief sects in South India to-day, the S'ri (which we have already referred to) and the S'aiva-Siddhanta support his teaching, and the S'ankaraçarya opposes

it. The followers of Ramanuja bear his name, and fall into two main classes, the Vadagalais in the north, who are "Arminians," and hold that the human spirit co-operates with the divine spirit, just as a baby monkey clings by its own effort to its mother; and the Tengalais in the south, who are "Calvinists," and will not admit any human effort in the divine plan of salvation.

The most important disciple of Ramanuja was Ramananda, who succeeded him after a century and a half, and he in turn had numerous followers, the twelve chief of whom founded sects which became rivals of the original body. First and most important of these twelve was Kabir, a gifted teacher, who constructed an eclectic system. By birth a Mussulman, he combined his inherited faith with philosophic Hinduism, and even perhaps with the Logos-doctrine of St. John. His followers, the Kabir-panthis, although not numerous, still exist in North India to a considerable extent, and make Benares their centre. Twelve sub-sects, at least, trace their origin to Kabir. Of these the chief is the Sikh body, founded soon after 1469 by Nanak, Kabir's most famous disciple. Nanak transmitted his authority to a line of successors, nine in number, each nominated by his predecessor. The fourth of these founded Amritsar in 1574, the sacred city and centre of the Sikh religion, and the tenth guru, Govind, transformed the Sikhs from a religious sect into a warlike and fanatical nation.

Those of the Sikhs who declined to share in this movement separated and took the name of the Sahijdharis. They are sub-divided, and their chief sect is that of the Udasins. The Sikhs themselves are divided into numerous sects, of whom the chief are the Nirmalas and the Nihangs. They are said to be drifting back into the baser forms of polytheism.

The history of the Ramanuja movement is paralleled by that of most of the other gurus and their followers. The chief are Anandatirtha (who is said to have died in 1198, and who tried to combine Vaishnavism and S'aivism), C'aitanya, and Vallabha. These latter two arose in the sixteenth century in North India, and laid stress on the mystical and devotional rather than on the philosophical aspect of the faith. C'aitanya has influenced many non-caste and animistic tribes, who reverence his name and memory as divine. He worked chiefly in Bengal and Orissa. The Vallabhaçaryas are now found mostly along the west coast of India. They regard human love in all its forms as sacred, and like many other antinomians have sunk to a very low moral level.

Two other smaller bodies may be mentioned, the Nimavats, founded by Nimbarka about 1200, and the Narayana, a reforming sect initiated in 1780 by Swami-Narayana at Ahmedabad in Gujarat, where it still numbers some 50,000 members.

Saivism is losing hold on the people throughout the country. Nevertheless some notice must be taken of its sects. The female principle or S'akti is extensively worshipped. It is probably an older cult with which S'aivism made terms, but it has become most important, and the two chief divisions of S'aktas are the Dakshinamargis and the Vainamargis, the right-hand and left-hand votaries respectively. The Vainamargis practice sorcery and sensual indulgence. Another very numerous S'akta sect are the Lingayits, who bury instead of burning their dead, and have developed a monastic order of Jangamas or itinerants, who display considerable devotion.

Hopkins, in his "Religions of India," gives two ancient lists of Hindu sects, one of the ninth century, another of the fourteenth. He also enumerates six distinct classes of sun-worshippers, and mentions several so-called "infidel" sects, the Çarvakas, who are sensual, the Shunyavads, whose faith is described as "void," and the Sangatas, whose religion consists merely in beneficent actions. He gives in addition some notes upon reforming movements, the Babalabs and Sadhus of the seventeenth, and the Satnamis of the eighteenth century.

Religious differentiation, when ceasing to be polytheistic and idolatrous and becoming spiritual, has always taken hold of a minority of the people. The great mass of Indian villagers is untouched by

these speculative and reforming movements, save where they assume an ascetic or emotional form.

A parallel to this may be discerned in England (or indeed in any other country). Here the bulk of the population, except where undigested knowledge has made it agnostic, preserves its loyalty to its primitive faith under a Christian veneer. Baptisms, churchings, marriages, and funerals have a strong magical significance, and the only large public gatherings are at the nature-festivals of Easter and Harvest, at the sun-rite of Christmas, and at Evensong (the sun setting). The only types which have appealed effectively to the masses have been the ritualist, the friar, and the revivalist preacher.

It was natural that the pure Christianity of the earnest missionary should stimulate and attract the representatives of spiritual Hinduism. Up to the present the reforming movements we have enumerated have tended to found "churches," with fissiparous consequences bearing a strong similarity to one another, in fact nearly always showing three classes :

1. Deists pure and simple ;
2. Theists.
3. Reformers pure and simple.

With the advent of Christianity these reforming movements have adopted yet another shape.

**Later  
Movements.**

The founder of this new series was Ram Mohan Roy, born in 1774 at Radha-nagar in Bengal. He was a highly educated man, familiar with six or seven languages, and possessing a first-hand knowledge of most Eastern religions. What Kabir had done to combine Mohammedanism with the higher Hinduism, Ram Mohan Roy tried to do as far as Christianity was concerned. None of his successors have ever denied their indebtedness to Christian influence. Rightly or wrongly, he regarded the lower forms of Hinduism as later accretions upon a pure faith, and while rejecting many distinctively Christian points of belief, founded at Calcutta in 1814 a society or "theistic church" in which the moral teaching of the New Testament and the denunciation of caste were combined with a fervent and spiritual worship of Brahma or the Supreme Being. This society was called the Brahma-Samaj, or Company of Believers in Brahma. It was the earliest theistic church in India, and gave rise to many others. The founder in 1831 came to England and was presented at Court, but died at Bristol two years later. His successor in leadership was Debendra Nath Tagore, who organised the church, and yielded so far to the progressive feelings of its members as to give up the doctrine that the ancient Vedic writings were infallible, while himself remaining a strong representative of the ancient and



pure Hinduism. The more radical party within the Brahma-Samaj grew restive in the meantime, and under the leadership of a young doctor, Keshab Chunder Sen, seceded in 1865 and established a new society, to which they gave the name of the Tattva bodhini Samaj. The original church adopted the name of the Adi-Brahma-Samaj, and sought an attitude of compromise. Keshab himself was a great and attractive personality. In 1867 he came to England and preached in various Free Churches. It is said that the numerous Christian sects occasioned him much perplexity. He regarded them as presenting each some aspect of Christ, whom he looked upon as the true Asiatic Saint, the greatest Yogin the world has ever known. In 1881 Keshab lost a good many of his adherents, who held views on the position and rights of woman more advanced than his own. The immediate cause of the schism was the betrothal of Keshab's daughter to the Maharajah of Kuch Behar, which he permitted to be consummated with Hindu rites and ceremonies. Probably he was not a party to the whole of this transaction, and he certainly felt keen remorse for the consequences. The new sect took the name of the Sādhārana Samaj. Keshab died in 1884. The obvious person to succeed him was his most influential disciple Pratap Chandra Muzumdar. Some of Keshab's followers, however, held that a successor in such a unique work could not be appointed, and that his

chair must be left vacant. Muzumdar in consequence only received a partial recognition, and the adherents of Keshab instituted a kind of cult of the master, celebrating the day of his death as his "Assumption." Since his death the Sadharana Samaj is the only branch which has made any progress. Kindred though unaffiliated societies have been founded in most of the cities of India. In Madras they are called Prarthana Samaj; some of them maintain missions to the outcastes, but none have succeeded in gaining any hold on the village communities.

In 1875 a more decidedly conservative society called the Arya Samaj was founded by a S'aivite Brahman, Dayananda Sarasvati, in North-West India. It is closely akin to the Adi-Brahma-Samaj, but rejects, at any rate formally, all Christian influence. It is strongest in the Panjab, and its various branches are affiliated to a centre. It does not seem to have been afflicted by schisms to any serious extent.

Numerous other theistic sects exist, but their numbers are small, and their influence is local. Taken altogether, however, these bodies exercise an influence entirely out of proportion to their size. The bulk of a sect has hardly anything to do with its importance.

We are not concerned here  
**II. Buddhism.** with the original teaching of the  
Buddha, but with its development.  
Let us be content to note that the four

periods of life indicated as those through which every orthodox Brahman passes have their counterpart in Buddhism, and are indeed a widespread piece of Oriental belief, the influence of which has spread far into Christendom and the west. The periods are those of

1. The student.
2. The householder who marries and has offspring.
3. The recluse or hermit.
4. The hermit who has "attained."

Buddhist teaching exalts the last two stages, and regards those who are entangled in the affairs of this life as "bound upon the wheel." It follows that the proper followers of the Buddha are "in monastic orders." The organisation of such, however, is an elaborate business, and it is interesting to find that it was done at a series of general councils. At the first of these, according to tradition, five hundred monks met at Rajagriha (perhaps in Oudh) and spent the rainy season together. A hundred years later a second council is said to have met at Vaisali, to pronounce upon certain relaxations in discipline which had been adopted by a party among the monks. The unorthodox on this occasion would seem to have been stronger than their opponents. The Northern school of Buddhists ignore the first as well as the third great council, held at Patna under the presidency of the King Asoka, the

Constantine of Buddhism. Both were strict and orthodox assemblies, and the Patna council pronounced condemnation upon numerous innovations and heresies. The fourth great council is reported to have met three hundred years later under the Indo-Scythian King Kanishka. It was apparently attended only by Northern representatives. It accorded official recognition to eighteen principal sects or followings, who were declared to hold in all essentials the true Buddhist faith, while differing in minor points of doctrine. Finally it made provision for the writing down and preservation of the sacred books.

**Northern and Southern.** This sketch shows at once the early division of the Buddhists into North and South, a division no less important than that of Christendom into East and West. Whatever the historicity of the councils, the early schism seems well-attested by its appearance in all traditions. The "Northern" Buddhists are the Buddhists of the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle. The geographical line of demarcation does not, however, exactly coincide with the existence of the doctrine. The Mahayana school is lax and liberal. It has always taught a kind of speculative theism, and claimed to convey men to heaven under conditions which make the way easy for all. It has adapted itself intensely to local conditions, and absorbed local cults, greatly resembling in this respect Latin Christianity.

The "Southern" Buddhists are those of the Hinayana, or Little Vehicle. They are strict and stern, allowing no room in the plan of salvation for external aid. Man is to rely upon his own efforts for deliverance.

Within these two great and broad divisions lie innumerable sects, only the chief of which can here be dealt with. As far back as the fourteenth century of our era a document existed\* giving a long list of such bodies, many of them differing only on minor metaphysical points. Few of those named in the document survive to day. The precise number of them was ill-defined, and is given in one place as thirty-two, in another as ninety-six. They seem to have been sub-divisions of four principal schools of thought.

- |                 |             |
|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. Mahdyamika,  | } Mahayana. |
| 2. Yogacara,    |             |
| 3. Vaibhashika, | } Hinayana. |
| 4. Santrantika, |             |

Another account, given in a Tibetan document of uncertain date, says that 160 years after the parinirvana or passing of Buddha the schism of the Mahasanghika and Sthavira occurred, and that the former has eight and the latter ten sub-divisions. Another variant begins with three schools, having six, eight, and four sub-divisions respectively.

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\* The Sarva-darsana-Sangraha of Madhavacarya.

There are at the present day  
**Ceylon.** three distinct sects of Buddhists in Ceylon, differing only in matters of discipline and outward observance. The first of these is the Siamese, which was derived from Siam about the beginning of the nineteenth century by a body of monks who came over to restore the true succession which had been lost. From this sect the second or Amarapura was differentiated. The Ramanya is the most recent and the smallest of the three. It originated in a protest against laxity of manners and observance, which had made its way into the other two. The external distinctions between these bodies is shown in costume. All appeal to the Buddhist scriptures to support their position. The Ramanya are the most vigorous and scrupulous.

In Tibet there are numerous  
**Tibet.** varieties of Lamaistic Buddhists. The first of these arose from a reforming movement initiated by Atisa, a monk from India (from 980 A.D. in Bengal), in the first half of the eleventh century. It was directed against the corruptions of pure Buddhism by animistic cults and superstitions, and bore at first the name of the Kadampa. It was the parent of all the reformed sects of the country. Three hundred years later Tsonkhapa, the most famous of Atisa's successors, revived and re-organised the Kadampa, and re-named it the Gelugpa, or Virtuous Order. This sect



flourished until it became the "established church" of Tibet. Numerous other sects, reformed and unreformed, differing in little but name, also exist. The Gelugpa, from their head-gear, are popularly known as the Yellow-Hats. The other sects have red hats. The nuns wear skull caps of the same colour.

**China and  
Japan.**

In China, Buddhism has become more consistently theistic or polytheistic. The principal sect is that of the Shin-Shiu, or sect of the "Pure Land," the Paradise of Amidhaba, founded in 381 A.D. Mr. Arthur Lloyd however enumerates eleven other sects, the Jojitsu, Sanron, Nehan, Jiron, Jodo, Zen, Ritzu, Hosso, Tendai, Keron, and Shingon. Many of these have their counterpart in Japan, not always under the same name. Thus the Shin-Shiu has its counterpart in the Jodo sect, founded in 1175 A.D. by the monk Genku or Honen. The Tendai sect is tolerant and syncretistic (a pure Mahayana type). The Zen is contemplative and aristocratic, with what might be called quietist and Quaker tendencies. Honen is sometimes called the Japanese St. Francis. His chief disciple Shinran certainly resembles Luther. Shinran regarded the use of the Rosary and the repetition of the name Amidha with the phrase "Hail to Amidha Buddha" as corrupt, and founded in consequence the Shin sect or reformed Jodo sect, in which salvation was taught as the result of faith and trust in the merits

of Amidha, and the mechanical performance of "works" was condemned. He was married, and denounced celibacy. The Nichiren sect is pantheistic, and perhaps rather more of the Hinayana school. It is very bigoted, and wages fierce controversies. Its adherents are drawn chiefly from the middle class Japanese. Most of the Nichirens are fiery patriots of democratic views. The Shin sect in its modern activities in Japan greatly resembles the Church of England. It has 20,000 temples, most of them well appointed. Its chief abbot is a peer of the realm, and has married a member of the Japanese Royal Family. It tolerates women, makes great efforts to touch the poor, publishes largely in the vernacular, selects as its priests men of good character, training them thoroughly and allowing them to marry, and has numerous organisations for the young. About one third of the Buddhists in Japan belong to the Shin sect.

The exact relationship of this  
**Jainism.** to Buddhism has not up to the  
present been determined. If Buddhist literature is to be trusted, one of the heretical opponents of the Buddha was Jnatiputra of Vaisali, head of the sect of the Nirgranthas or Naked Ascetics. Now Jnatiputra has been identified with Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, and Nirgrantha is the usual term by which a Jaina monk is described. Certainly the

Buddhist and Jain systems are strongly alike. Most of the sub-sects of Nirgranthas are to-day extinct, and the Jain monks are at present divided into two bodies, the Svetambaras or white robed, and the Digambaras or naked. A sub-division of the Svetambaras are the Dhundias, who are strong iconoclasts, pay extreme reverence to their gurus, and are most punctilious in avoiding all injury to life. There are six other minor divisions of Jains.

*China* is honeycombed with secret societies, or sects, and it is said that the divisions of Christendom present little difficulty to a Chinaman. He is too familiar with sectarianism. The "Boxers" formed one of these societies (which are really protean in the forms they display), and appear to have maintained a confused belief, partly Confucian, partly Taoist, partly Buddhist.

Our third and last great survey must cover the Moslem world.

**III. Islam.** In the Mishkat, book i., ch. vi., part 2, there is a prophecy of Mohammed's reported by Abdu'llah ibn Umar, in which the prophet begins: "Verily it will happen to my people as it did to the Children of Israel. The Children of Israel were divided into seventy-two sects, and my people will be divided into seventy-three. Everyone of these will go to Hell

except one sect." The Companions then say to him: "Which is that, O Prophet?" Mohammed answers: "The religion which is professed by me and my companions." It does not matter whether Mohammed actually said this or not. Enough that it was thought fitting to attribute such a remark to him. We may profitably compare it with that attributed to Jesus Christ in the Gospel of Mark. "John saith unto Him, 'Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy Name, and we forbade him, because he followed not us.' But Jesus said 'Forbid him not; for there is no man which shall do a mighty work in My name, and be able quickly to speak evil of Me. For he that is not against us is for us.'"\* The other two synoptists have mysteriously suppressed all but the last clause of this saying.

Various attempts have been made at a classification of the Mohammedan sects. First there are the two great divisions into *Sunnis*, also called *Najiyahs* ("those who are being saved"), who accept the three Khalifs following immediately upon the prophet, and number 140 to 150 millions; and *Shiahs*, who reject all the successors of Mohammed up to Ali, and who number 15 or 16 millions, chiefly Persian. Sub-sections of the latter are the Isma'ilians, Fatimids, Druses, and Assassins,

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\* Mark ix, 39.

the latter including the curious Khojah sect of Bombay, concerning whose endowments the notorious Aga Khan case\* was conducted.

Sale divides the sects into four classes :

The Mutaziliyahs, or followers of Wasil ibn Ali, whom he regards as the most able and independent thinkers ;

the Sifatiyahs ;

the Kharijiyahs, or Aliens, vehement opponents of Ali the fourth Khalif ;

and the Shiahs.

Another classification groups the four orthodox sects as follows :

The Hanafiyahs, who arose in 702 A.D., and who are chiefly to be found in Turkey, Central Asia, and North India ;

the Shafi'iyahs, who arose in 707, and are confined chiefly to South India and Egypt ;

the Malakiyahs, who arose in 714, and are found in Morocco, the Barbary States, and other parts of Africa ;

the Hambaliyahs, founded in 780, the least popular of the four, occurring chiefly in East Arabia and certain places in Africa.

The Shashu l'Muwaqif says there are eight great divisions of Mohammedans. The Shaikh Abdu'l

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\* See Appendix.

Qadir says there are no less than a hundred and fifty sects. Probably this latter reckoning falls least short of the truth. Hardly any estimate of the number can be too small. A glance at Hughes' dictionary of Islam will show how enormous it is, and how slight are the points in which they differ.

Early Moslem "dissent" found its expression in the Separatist Mosque of Dirar, which was built by some of the disaffected during the very life-time of the Prophet, who enjoined the orthodox to destroy it after his death.

In the second and third centuries after the Hejra a vast number of sects and schools arose. The writings of only one heresiarch, however, have survived to us\* namely those of Jahiz of Basra. Abul-Hasan al Ashari, at the beginning of the fourth century from the Hejra, was a kind of Moslem Aquinas, whose works form a standard of orthodoxy and a correct mode of studying sectarian opinions and dealing with them. From his time the pursuit of orthodoxy was stereotyped into an unalterable science.

By the fifth century after the Hejra, Moham-medan sects acquired a sort of legal status. They gained the right for their adherents to be buried in an orthodox cemetery, to receive a share of

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\* See on this, and similar points, Margoliouth's Hibbert Lectures, "The Early Developments of Mohammedanism."



booty in war, and to pray in a mosque belonging to the Orthodox. On the other hand no prayer might be said over the schismatic's body, food slaughtered by him was not to be accounted lawful, and there was to be no *jus connubii* between him and the Orthodox.

The Sufis are really sectaries who have adapted the Vedanta School of Hindu Philosophy to Moslem ideas. Sufism has innumerable divisions, which find expression in the various religious orders of Darweshes, or Faqirs. The most recent of these are the Sanusiyahs. The Wahabis are a fanatical military sect. The Babist sects of Persia are a development of Shi'ah Mohammedanism.

A word seems in place here  
**Judaism.** about Jewish sectarianism. New

Testament students are familiar with the two great divisions of Pharisees and Sadducees, and with the lesser bodies of Zealots and Essenes. A much more recent sect, though small, deserves attention. This is the sect of the Karaites, founded by Anan ben David in 761-2 A.D. They discarded the Mishnah and so were called the Bné Miskra instead of the Bné Mishnah. The majority of them now live in Russia; in 1871 they only numbered some six thousand. To-day they are still fewer in numbers. In their rejection of tradition their belief is a species of Jewish Protestantism.

**Classification of  
Sect-  
Phenomena.**

This part of our survey is now complete, and we can safely proceed to the classification of sect-phenomena, according to their various origins.

*Causes of sects.* The reader must forgive if these appear in a somewhat tabular form. For the sake of clearness the latter has been adopted.

| <i>Causes.</i>          | <i>Examples.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| i. <i>Race.</i>         | Schism between Eastern and Western Churches.<br>Cleavage between Romans and Orangemen in Ireland.<br>Colour cleavage in the United States of America.<br>The rise of the Order of Ethiopia in South Africa.<br>English dissent, in many places due to lack of fusion between Celtic, Saxon, Dane, and Norman elements.<br>The temperament of the people of Wurtemberg in Germany is peculiarly favourable to the formation of sects.<br>Sharp distinction between Latin and Teutonic Christianity.* |
| ii. <i>Nationalism.</i> | Separation of the Anglicans from Rome. Rise of the various National Churches in Russia, Armenia, Montenegro, Scandinavia, etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

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\* See Houston Chamberlain, "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century."

*Causes.**Examples.*iii. *Class-divisions.*

Cleavage between Anglicans and Free Churchmen in many towns and villages.

N.B.—This is sometimes racial, sometimes economic (see below).

The Nichiren sect in Japan.

Brahmin caste-divisions.

Progress of Christianity in India among the depressed classes.

iv. *Temperament.*

Cleavage between Ritualists and Puritans in any community.

Sacramentalist and anti-sacramental parties.

Rise of Liberals, Deists, etc., among the intellectualists of all nations.

v. *Attempts at reformation and "reversion to type."*

These require fuller treatment. Numerous examples of a very wide-spread nature are to be found.

Akhnaton, the Egyptian reforming king of the fourteenth century B.C., founded a lofty sectarian religion which barely survived his death.

Orpheus, according to Miss Jane Harrison and others, was a Thracian reformer of the cult of Dionysus, who met with a martyr's death, and whose blood was the seed of the Orphic Church. In the clouds of Aristophanes we get a picture of the way in which the poet, who was a scoffer, and with him the members of the Greek Establishment, made fun of the Orphists, who according to Dr. Adam\* were much in the position

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\* The religious teachers of Greece.

*Causes.**Examples.*

of dissenters, regarded as prigs, men anxious about their own souls. Zarathustra was a reformer.

Many of the Hindu gurus founded sects distinctively of the reforming type.

The Kadampa and Shin sects among the Buddhists were reforming movements ; so also are those of the various iconoclasts.

The Christian reforming movements from the 12th century onwards are too numerous to need examples. We note in our own day those which have had for their watch-word the phrase "Back to Christ."

vi. *Conservatism.*

The Sahijdari Sikhs. The Judaising Christians.

The Romanist schism of the Tudor period in England.

The Old Catholics of 1870.

The Raskolniks of Russia.

vii. *Economic conditions.* It is difficult to say how far these have operated in conjunction with other causes, but Kauffmann's "Studies in Mormonism" suggests that the latter was largely due to economic pressure in crowded centres of population, and that the Christian Science movement has received great impetus from the existence in America of an excessively rich bourgeoisie, pampered, enervated, and luxurious, with much leisure for meditation upon its nervous ailments.

Attempts at Christian Communism are responsible for at least ten American sects.

*Causes.**Examples.*

- English Dissent is often due to a cleavage between the old and the new "richesse," traders and shopkeepers on the one hand and professional folk on the other.
- viii. *Radicalism.* The Levellers. The Taborite Hussites of 1467. The Lollards. The Sadharana Samaj. Methodist New Connexion or Kilhamites.
- ix. *Antinomianism.* The Hindu sect of Vallabacaryas. Various medieval sects such as the Turlepins. The Chlūsten in Russia. Some of the Anabaptists. The Agapemonites. The Bordelumians of 1739, who claimed to have attained a higher state of spirituality than St. Paul.
- x. *Quarrels and prejudice.* Here again is a complication. Nearly every sect has been differentiated with some friction. Not many sects, however, can be set down wholly to a quarrel. Many of the minute sub-divisions of American sects can be traced to personal disagreements. A good example is that of George Keith, who, in 1692, seceded from the Friends as a result of bitter disputes, was denounced and excommunicated in 1695, and founded the Keithites, or Christian Quakers.
- xi. *Intellectualism and Rationalism.* The Carmathian Mohammedans. The Sadducees. The 18th century Deists. The Chorizantes of 1374, in Germany.

| <i>Causes.</i>                                                                                  | <i>Examples.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| xii. <i>Emotionalism.</i>                                                                       | Pietism and Methodism (partially, as a reaction against the cold intellectualism of the Deists).<br>The Montanists. The Shakers.<br>The Skakuni, or Jumpers in Russia.<br>The Prezigerians (1751-1824) of Wurtemberg and Baden, sometimes called the Yuch-he and Galopp Christen.<br>The Salvation Army. |
| xiii. <i>Quietism.</i>                                                                          | The Friends. The Molinists. The Zen sect of Buddhists.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| xiv. <i>Sharp conflict over doctrine and principle.</i>                                         | The various Arian schisms.<br>The Colenso schism in South Africa.<br>Divisions about freedom of conscience.                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| xv. <i>Sacerdotal controversies, and questions of organization.</i>                             | Montanism, and all conflicts between the charismatic and official ministries.<br>The great papal schism.<br>Presbyterianism.<br>The Reformed Episcopal Church of 1873. U.S.A.<br>The Reformed Catholics of New York. 1879.                                                                               |
| xvi. <i>Disputes about the authority of the State and the Crown-rights of the Divine Being.</i> | Free-Church movements, especially in Scotland.<br>The Donatists. The Non-jurors.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| xvii. <i>Puritanism.</i>                                                                        | The Coelicolae of N. Africa (Temp. Augustine.)<br>Nanak and the early Sikhs, who were Iconoclasts.                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| xviii. <i>Asceticism.</i>                                                                       | The Novatians, Baptists, and Cathari.<br>Various monastic bodies.<br>Tendencies among the East Syrians and Albigenses to make Christianity a matter of celibacy (really Oriental dualism).                                                                                                               |



*Causes.**Examples.*

- xix. *Local feeling against imperial uniformity.* Position of the early Celtic Church in Britain.  
Rebellions of all local churches against Rome, and of various local sects against national uniformity in England and Russia.
- xx. *Subtlety of mind, love of argument, and search for truth.* Many of the schisms arising out of Eastern Christological controversies, and out of disputations among reformed theologians.
- xxi. *Untempered private judgement.* Christian sects, arising out of the study of the Bible without note or comment.  
*cf.* Various Chiliasts and Millenarians.  
The same result has been reached among Moslems, where the very numerous sects are largely due, according to Prof. Margoliouth, to "discoveries made by the pious in the course of their perusal of the Koran."
- xxii. *Pure separatism.* This is characteristic of certain temperaments, say for example those of the Yorkshire and Leicestershire people. It is also strongly manifest in America, and is there probably due to a great extent to a long-continued use of untempered private judgement forming a habit of mind. I think we must also allow that where the economic conditions favour the accumulation of many fortunes, the separatist spirit is encouraged by the possibility of "proprietaryship" of entire churches which they afford.

*Causes.**Examples.*

- xxiii. *Neglect or exaggeration of one aspect of the truth.* The various Faith-Health movements.  
The Adventist sects.  
Reaction against the excessive insistence upon unquestioning obedience is responsible for many divisions.
- xxiv. *Loyalty to teachers.* The Early Corinthian divisions.  
The last schism in the Brahma Samaj, and general Hindu loyalty to its gurus.  
English North-country schools and classes.
- xxv. *Really erroneous doctrine, eccentricity, falsehood, fraud, and superstition.* The Migetians of the 8th century A.D.  
The Hydroparastatae of the 4th century A.D.  
The Rainbow heresy, leading to the Kleebo schism among the Karens in Burma.  
The Gapers in Russia.  
The Non-Shavers in Russia.  
The Mormons.  
The short-lived English sect of Joanna Southcott, 1750-1814.  
The Brüggler sect of 1745 in Holland.  
N.B.—Many of these have taken their rise in the use of semi-educated and untempered private judgement upon sacred documents, or in the limited efforts of those who were unable to see what other folk were doing. It is hardly conceivable for instance that many of the smaller Christian sects would have so violently maintained their exclusive truth and virtue if they had known what an immense number of other similar bodies were maintaining the same thing at the same time only a few miles

*Causes.**Examples.*

- away from one another. One hesitates to put down the lack of a sense of humour as a serious cause of some sects, yet it certainly must be taken into account.
- xxvi. *Family organization.* The origin of the Shiite and Sunnite division among the Moslems. The East Syrian Church (so-called Nestorian) has a hereditary episcopate to this day.
- xxvii. *Sex division.* Various Brotherhood movements, Bible Classes, and Adult Schools of recent times. Monastic bodies. Recent exclusively female sects.

I fear that this list is far from perfect. It aims at classifying the various types of sects, but there are a good many which overlap, and could be assigned equally well to two or three classes, such for example as the Montanists. I might also have united the Quietists and the Emotionalists and the Intellectualists under one heading, namely, that of temperament, but for the sake of emphasis I have preferred to keep the list as nearly as possible as it was originally drafted. The examples are not of course in any way exhaustive, but are merely meant to illustrate.

I hope enough instances have been given to establish the fact that sectarianism is a phase or element in religion which may be compared with the existence in it of churches or temples, priesthoods, sacred books, musical tones in worship, ceremonial,

**Conclusions.**

sacraments, asceticism, and mysticism. These things are good servants in aiding the progress of the spiritual life ; they are bad masters. Ecclesiasticism, devotionism, bibliolatry, clericalism, ritualism, sacramentalism, separatism, antinomianism, individualism, and extreme quietism are bad things.

It is an unhappy fact that inherited custom causes the majority of sects to be maintained long after they have ceased to perform any useful function save in a few isolated cases that of healthy competition. Their persistence under such general conditions is more scandalous than that of any vendetta.

The sect-phenomenon is inevitable to the working out of a "Religionsidee." But Christianity as the highest religion must rise superior. In Christ's classic sentence it does. I hope to show in the next chapter how it has battled through the various episodes of sectarianism, and in the third chapter how the Christ-spirit, manifested in Mark ix., 39, having fought its way through, never wholly submerged, is at length rising up triumphant. The "Church invisible" is a make-shift, even though perhaps a necessary one. We might as well talk of a "state invisible." Granted the necessity of a social organism, whether in politics or religion, its evolution is inevitable. No one can reasonably suppose that in the case of the Christian Church such evolution is yet at an end.

## CHAPTER II.

### CHRISTIAN DISRUPTION FROM JERUSALEM TO CHICAGO.

**Survey of  
Christian Sect-  
Phenomena.** ACCEPTING the conclusion that  
denominationalism is not a peculiar  
feature of Christianity, but is equally  
developed among other religions, we  
go on to enquire into the history of Christian sects.

**Definition of  
Christendom.** Christendom, or the sphere of Christianity, may  
be defined in two ways; either (1) as the aggregate  
of those who regard the person of Jesus as in some  
sense the unique manifestation of  
the Deity upon this planet, and  
the date of His birth as marking an  
epoch of supreme importance in its history, or (2) as  
the sum total of the parts which go to make up the  
Universal Church, described in the same way. The  
one excludes the "Church" idea. The other makes  
the Church an essential part of Christianity.

To-day the balance of feeling favours the second  
definition. But even if we accept it, there remains  
the further distinction between those who look  
forward, and say with Mr. Temple of Repton, "we  
are the primitive Church,"\* and those who look back  
to a golden age of Christianity, and speak of the

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\* Foundations.

age-long witness and experience of the Church, the faith of the ages, the old, old story, the primitive Church and its witness, and so forth.

What follows here immediately  
**Definition of** is my answer to those who say:  
**the Church.** "You are leaving out the Church."

I am not denying that there is an old, old story though some of us tell it in too long-winded a fashion. I am not denying that there is a deposit of faith, but I respectfully submit that it is a grain of mustard seed, and not a forest where you cannot see the wood for the trees.

When we say that Christ founded a society what do we mean? We mean merely that God in Christ showed that He intended religion to be a matter of the brotherhood of mankind and not of individuals alone in compartments, and that He therefore instituted two ordinances, or rather adopted and purified them, and left a body of trained leaders as a rallying point, thus reforming and revising the Jewish religion, which contained those elements. The invisible Church, I repeat, is a make-shift. Christians are the "People of God,"\* the *ἐκκλησία* or Messianic Community, and the Church is the continuation, the revision and extension of the Jewish ecclesia. The Christian Church is the Messianic Community with the Holy Spirit immanent therein

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\* See Mr. Hamilton's treatise, "The People of God."



to guarantee and guide its development, yet without nullifying the human wills of its members. The only finality about the Church as Christ left it lies in its essential unity and its essentially social nature.

Concede the desirability of an official ministry if you like. It is only the organ by which the body corporate expresses itself. It is itself the result and the subject of evolution. Ordination is the blessing of the transcendent God bestowed upon the minister-elect, who has been differentiated for the purpose by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit immanent in and working together with the spirits of the Church members. Three times already has there been occasion in these pages\* to refer to the idea of a succession of ministers. None of the three instances was taken from Christianity. We do well to bear in mind the words of the present Bishop of Chester: "There are two conclusions to be drawn from the frank study of Church History in both Testaments (and especially of the Gospels, the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles) down to the present day (the spiritual phenomena of foreign missions supplying impressive evidence), namely, that Church order, succession and authority are good, but that they are not so good and essential as Spirit and Life."\*

Is the perfect Church then past, present or future? Certainly future. It is the divine and

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\* Spoken at Chester Diocesan Conference, March, 1914.

glorious ideal towards which the present organism as we have it is working, and towards which the organism Christ reformed and revised has ever since been working.

**Christian Disruption.** Let us now look at the history of Christian disruption, and trace its various stages. Let us study the facts of the past without favour or prejudice, bestowing no artificial authority upon one period more than another. Of course in one chapter it will be impossible to cover nineteen hundred years in great detail. That I must ask the reader to forgive.

We have already seen something of the variety of causes which have led to the rise of sects. I shall therefore try to give some sort of chronological survey, and pause at intervals to take note of one or two special cases.

**As Surveyed by Blunt.** Blunt, who is responsible for the celebrated Prayer Book Dictionary, published in 1874 a dictionary of sects. In this he was a pioneer. No doubt his work has more recently been superseded,\* but he marshalled a most imposing array of facts. He enumerates Twelve Jewish sects.

Fifty-six Christian sects to A.D. 313.

Fifty-two Christian sects 313—700.

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\* By the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, and Dr. Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Forty-seven Christian medieval sects.

Fifty-eight Christian sects of the continental reformation.

Fifteen extinct English sects.

Eighteen large English sects at the present day.

Twenty-four small English sects at the present day.

Thirty-three Scottish sects.

Forty-one peculiar to America.

Twenty-four peculiar to Russia.

This list excludes schools of thought and ascetic orders, many of which are undoubted sects, if we keep to our definition. Some of those on his list are mere names, and almost imaginary. I only mention Blunt as a pioneer. We shall not follow him in our survey.

**The First Six Centuries.** Broadly speaking, we shall find that Christian disruption concerns itself with the intellectual and mystical as well as with the purely institutional aspect of religion.

The Church begins as "The Way," a Jewish sect whose members frequent the Temple services, practise circumcision, revere the Hebrew Scriptures, and at any rate in Jerusalem adopt the family system of organisation by recognising James, called the Lord's brother, as their official head. The first serious schism in the Church begins soon

after the period described in the charming picture, Acts ii., 42-47. The break comes in two stages, first between the Jewish leaders and the Apostolic band, and secondly between the Judaising Christians and those who for want of a better term we may call the Catholic Christians. The first stage begins with the arrest of Peter and John, and reaches its height in the uproar leading to the judicial murder of Stephen. The second stage begins with the enlightenment of Peter, and develops an acute phase owing to the uncompromising doctrines of Paul. The contention is shown in its clearest form in the document known as Paul's letter to the Galatians. Baur and the Tübingen school laid undue emphasis upon it, but its importance cannot be doubted, and we shall have occasion to notice how a good many centuries later the attractions of Judaism led to the most unexpected revivals of Judaistic Christianity in entirely unlikely localities. As we read through the literature of the New Testament various other communities can be dimly discerned, Colossian heretics, "filthy dreamers," Nicolaitans, persons "who say that the resurrection is past already," and many others. We cannot pretend to identify these accurately (as some have done in the past), with notorious heretical communities of a later date. It is clear, however, that two main attitudes towards the Person of Christ are responsible for the multiplication of sects, if we

except the Corinthian divisions, which result less from the thing taught than from loyalty to the teacher; for the Corinthians treat the missionaries as though they are philosophers, each with his school of partisans and adherents.

**Early Christology.** These two main attitudes are due to the necessity imposed upon all who have accepted the fact of Christ, of thinking out the meaning of His Person and His relation to other religions and philosophical systems. The first of them emphasizes the Humanity of Jesus, and tends to overlook or deny His Divinity. The second emphasizes His Divinity at the expense of His Humanity. Both may be further sub-divided according to the character of the persons adopting them. The sincere believer, the Judaist, the Greek philosopher, the Theosophist or Oriental, the Teutonic rationalist, are to be found in both classes, termed respectively Ebionites and Docetae. According to their attitude so is the quality of their allegiance to Christ. Many of them are desirous of fitting Him into some older system, just as Buddha was fitted into the Hindu system as an avatara or incarnation of Vishnu. But there is always a central body who realise that Christ is of no importance unless unique, and that knowledge or Gnosis, though not negligible, is secondary to faith.

The more Oriental attempts to **Gnosticism.** reconcile Christianity with older systems have received the comprehensive title of Gnosticism. It was quite right and proper that the Fact of the Incarnation should be confronted with the speculations of mankind, and we certainly ought not to regret that so much early Christian literature is concerned with the attempts of Christian teachers to commend it to the East, and to guide what often seemed to be very wilful and erring speculations. The Gnostic sects are as numerous as the Hindu and quite as bewildering. Among them may be mentioned the Ophites, Cainites, Elchasaïtes, Melchisedecians, and Valentinians; and the followers of Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Marcion, Secundus, Ptolemaeus, Bardesanes, Manes, and Monoimus. Some are hardly Christian at all. A very good modern instance, and not at all a harmless one, is that of the Order of the Star in the East. Anyone who goes to Langham Place in London will see its English headquarters. Its windows are draped with blue, and images of Christ and Buddha are exhibited in them side by side—sufficient evidence of the doctrine taught by this school of Theosophists. The Abelites, a semi-Gnostic sect living near Hippo, married, but practised strict continence.

At least five different attempts have been made to classify Gnostic sects, none of them wholly



satisfactory. The best way, perhaps, would be to arrange them in ascending order, beginning with the earliest, who show hardly any acquaintance with the Gospel history, and ending with the latest, who display great interest in it. A modern estimate of them may fitly be inserted : " It is impossible to regard the Gnostics as either mere impostors, or as hateful heretics who wilfully perverted the word of God. It appears even permissible to regard the Gnosticism of the second century rather as a precursor than as a willing opponent of Christianity, and it is quite possible that through the defective systems of some of the teachers of the Gnosis many became Christians ; as at a later time St. Augustine was a Manichæan before his baptism, and as in the middle ages many of the greatest Jewish Kabbalists entered the Church." \*

Other early attempts at thinking **Monarchianism**. out the doctrine of the Person of

Christ are associated with (1) the names of Sabellius (198-217), Praxeas (200) and Noctus, who tended to make Christ a mere "appearance" of the Father having no personality or permanent existence, and (2) those of Theodotus, Artemon, Beryllus of Bostra, and Paul of Samosata (in the first half of the third century), who regarded the man Jesus as inspired by the Spirit of God,

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\* Foakes-Jackson, " Church History," p. 135.

with whom owing to His superior virtue He ultimately acquired union. The latter doctrine re-appears in a later century under the title of Adoptianism. It is associated by Mr. F. C. Conybeare (following Harnack) with the Paulicians and Armenians. Both the above groups show the influence of Greek philosophy upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, an influence which did not decline during the next three or four centuries. It must be borne in mind that each teacher associated with himself a school or sect of followers, clerical and lay, who were not infrequently excommunicated.

The great series begins with **Arianism.** the outbreak of the Arian dispute at Alexandria in 318. It rent the Christian world of the day into three great divisions, the orthodox party, the Homœans or Semi-Arians, and the Anomœans or complete Arians.\* It is interesting to note that the latter party had great attractions for the Teutonic nations who were beginning at this period to filter down into Southern Europe, and that after the deluge of a century later there came a time when there was not an orthodox prince in the world except Clovis, for the Eastern Emperor was then Monophysite. But this is

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\* I have refrained from giving a detailed definition of these and the other great sects, seeing that their tenets must be familiar to all.

anticipating. Towards the end of the fourth century the Arian controversy died down. It was succeeded in 358 by the controversy about the position of the Holy Spirit in the Godhead, in which Macedonius,

**The Great  
Christological  
Controversies.**

Bishop of Constantinople, took a prominent part, and by the long string of disputes concerning the relation of the two Natures and two Wills in Christ's Personality. Apollinarianism was followed early in the fifth century by Nestorianism, and this in turn by Eutychianism. Those branches of the Church which refused to be bound by the somewhat unsatisfactory general councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) remained Nestorian and Monophysite. The Coptic Church became separate in 461. The Armenians, who were the first people to become Christians outside the Empire, developed a separate national Church in 491. In 578 Jacob of Bardai founded the Jacobite Church, which was Monophysite, and afterwards split into "Orthodox," Niobites, Tritheites, Tetratheists and Julianists. The latter part of the sixth century saw the rise of the Aphthartodocetes, who taught that the body of our Lord was incorruptible, and the seventh century the rise of the Monothelites, who were inclined to deny the human will of our Lord. The followers of John Maro organised themselves as a Church in Syria, and remained Monothelite for centuries

Monothelitism, superstition, and the retirement of the most worthy and spiritual Christians into monastic establishments weakened the Church in the East, and it steadily gave way before the resistless march of the Arabs with their new Creed.

Early Syrian Christianity (before it became Orthodox and afterwards Nestorian), developed a peculiar type which strikes right across Christendom and occurs in many strange spots. This type

**Early  
Asceticism and  
Puritanism  
(Orientalism).**

is based upon the Oriental view which regards human life and entanglement in material affairs as evil, and exalts the ascetic form of existence. Baptism among these early Syrians was confined to the B'nai Qyama, or Sons of the Covenant, who were celibates. The Paulicians, to whom Gibbon devotes a whole chapter, and who seem to have been early Oriental Baptists, lived beyond the Taurus mountains in the eighth and ninth centuries. Among them the age for baptism was thirty, and the rite must take place by total immersion. Another body of the same type was that of the Euchites, who existed during the fourth century near Edessa, believed in some sort of final perseverance or gradual self-deification, and indulged in long and fervent prayers. They seem to have spread into Thrace, for they certainly occur there in

the ninth century. A link between them and the West is to be found in the Bogomils, a Slavonic dualist sect whose favourite book was the Ascension of Isaiah, and who performed baptism by laying the Gospel of St. John upon the head of the catechumen and chanting the Lord's Prayer and an invocation of the Holy Ghost. It seems possible that this type of Christianity (which is fully described in Mr. F. C. Conybeare's edition of the ancient Paulician document called "The Key of Truth") spread by way of North Africa into Italy and the South of France. There is some difference of opinion as to its connection with the early continental Protestants, but I hope to deal with this matter more fully a little further on. The tendency to postpone baptism until an advanced age, the popular restriction of Communion to virgins, celibates and old people (by no means extinct to-day), the medieval craze after asceticism, and wrong views about marriage, are all instances of the influence of this Orientalism upon Mediterranean Christianity. In Ireland, after the death of St. Patrick, the monastery seems to have grown far more prominent than the parish, and the abbot more important than the bishop.

Millenarianism has been a feature of a good many sects, especially of those who have interpreted the Scriptures apart from tradition. The saints and martyrs, it was expected, would rise from the

dead and Christ would reign with them on earth for a thousand years. Many of the early Fathers held this view, but the Alexandrian school vehemently opposed it, Clement holding that it was contrary to reason, since Christ had promised His spiritual presence to the Church as a perpetual gift. About the year 247 a party in Alexandria threatened to form a schism on the question, but the danger was averted.

Before going any further, I must ask the reader to return and consider some of the earlier divisions which resulted from questions of discipline and organisation. We begin with Clement of Rome, who about 96 A.D. writes to Corinth in order to compose if possible a schism which has arisen between clergy and laity. Such a schism was not confined to Corinth. The official ministry did not establish its status without a struggle; and the finality and perfection of its organisation are called in question even at the present time.

The Montanist movement has many aspects. It was founded by Montanism. Ardaban, a Phrygian ex-priest of Cybele, better known as Montanus, who in 130 A.D. claimed a transcendent inspiration as a prophet. Like Bishop Butler, in dealing with John Wesley, the Catholic Bishops of Asia regarded this claim



as "a very horrid thing." It involved of course, like Methodism, a denial of the value of sacraments and official ordinations, and gave scope for excessive emotionalism, especially on the part of the prophetesses Prisca and Maximilla. Like the Quakers of a later period, the Montanists sought direct guidance on all occasions, and by repressing all pleasures and amusements strove to establish a Puritan Church. Their position was admittedly attractive, and they won the support of no less a person than the great Christian writer and apologist Tertullian, who seceded to them in the year 202. Montanism found a ready reception in Africa, and the Montanist martyrs, Perpetua, Felicitas, and their company, rival in their heroism the Free Church martyrs of the Boxer rising in China. The North African Church was the home of sects.

In the year 251 occurred the **Novatianism.** Novatian schism, led by Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage. The cause was as follows: In time of persecution many Christians lapsed. Were they afterwards on expressing penitence to be received back into the Church? The question is not an easy one to answer. Much may be said for and against the restoration of the lapsed, whose sincerity it must have been exceedingly hard to determine; and in the event of persecution to-day the question might easily re-arise. In the particular case of the Decian persecution, however, the

Carthaginians were seriously divided. A man of thoroughly dour temperament was chosen for bishop, Novatian by name, and a schismatic community formed itself under him, and took the name of the Cathari.\* All hope of pardon was denied to Christians who had ever offered heathen sacrifice, or obtained certificates of exemption from heathen magistrates. In this crusade the Montanists united, extending the exclusion to all who since their baptism had fallen into deadly sin. Both Novatianists and Montanists had their adherents in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and flourished right on into the fifth century. The Novatianists were always rigidly orthodox in the days of the Arian controversy. It is not easy to condemn either of these bodies, seeing that they honestly aimed at a high standard, and emphasized points which the central body of Christians might otherwise have overlooked. In criticism it may be added, however, that they tended to regard the Church exclusively as a school for saints, and not sufficiently as a hospital for sinners. Like many other sects they have had their counterpart in other and later ages, not necessarily under the same name. The stricter Baptists for example greatly resemble them in strength as well as in weakness.

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\* To be distinguished from the later Cathars of Provence.

The third great North-African **Donatism.** sect was that of the Donatists, who rapidly became in the fourth century more numerous than their Catholic brethren. Aiming at a pure Church with worthy ministers, they strenuously resisted all state interference, and certainly showed quite as much vigour as the Scotch Covenanters in resisting the royal power vested in the Emperors of the day. The Donatist schism became at length so violent and so unreasonable\* that in the days of Augustine it was completely discredited, and after a great conference held in 411 rapidly declined. The Meletian schism in Antioch, although it originated over the question of the treatment of the lapsed, and finally became involved in the tangle of Arian disputes, would seem to have continued largely on account of the officious behaviour of Meletius, an Egyptian bishop, who quarrelled with Peter of Alexandria. As a diocesan schism in which two rival bishops claimed exclusive rights, it lingered for many years, and resembles in some details the Colensoite schism of the nineteenth century. A controversy which did not however result in the formation of any organised sect was that which concerned the right of the laity to

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\* There is considerable resemblance between the Donatist Circumcellions and some of the militant Suffragists of the present day.

teach, and centred round the person of Origen at Alexandria. Sympathisers with his position and teaching, bearing the name of Origenists, are found from 231 onwards for some centuries.

Other miscellaneous bodies which **Enkratites and other Miscellaneous Bodies.** are best mentioned at this point are the Enkratites, founded by Tatian, a

pupil of Justin Martyr, who practised great abstinence, and like the Hydroparastatae (fourth century) used water instead of wine at the Lord's Supper; the Collyridians, a sect of women, mentioned by Epiphanius, who came from Thrace to Arabia, and seem to have espoused a peculiar devotion to the Virgin Mary, and the Hieracites. The latter were the followers of one Hieracas who was born about 275 A.D., and wrote a great work on the Creation and some of the Psalms. He was an ascetic and a celibate, denied the resurrection of the body, and doubted the salvation of those who had died in infancy, even if baptised, because "without knowledge could be no conflict, without conflict no reward." His followers continued into the fourth century.

The Pelagians, whose "vain **Pelagianism.** talk" must have perplexed casual readers of the Thirty-nine Articles, are the chief doctrinal sect of the west. In precisely the same way as Arianism attracted the Teutons, and in some form or other is probably

held sub-consciously by four-fifths of the Anglican laity to-day and by most Free-Churchmen, so Pelagianism, as the explanation of human sin and salvation attracted the Western mind, and is openly maintained by a great number of modern religious teachers, on the ground that it accords with the conclusions of natural science. Pelagius was a native of Britain, and a layman of mature age, a devout and quiet member of religious circles in Rome in the early years of the fifth century. His sheltered life made him ready to ignore the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and like many "higher men" of to-day he declared that before Christ's coming there were some without sin, and that no taint was inherited from Adam by the human race. A variety of his teaching bore the name of semi-Pelagianism. Such protests as that of Pelagius are valuable, not because of the conviction which they convey, but because they draw attention to a line of experience which is by no means uncommon and which tended to be ignored until Professor James drew the distinction between "once-born" and "twice-born" souls, and also because the Augustinian theology hangs precariously upon the maintenance of the Fall-Story in its most literal form.

So far we have made no reference to Spanish sectarianism. It must not be supposed, however, that it did not exist. On the contrary, Arianism

had a majority over Catholicism until the conversion of King Reccared in 589. Long before this however, the case of Priscillian had scandalised the more humane believers of Europe. In the period from 381 to 1700 almost any unorthodox person stood the chance of being set down as a Manichæan. Certainly the followers of Manes were numerous and influential, and St. Augustine himself fell under the spell of its attractions and consorted for a time with the Manichæan bishop Faustus. But the recently discovered and edited writings of Priscillian\* seem to show little or no connection with the teachings of Manes, though they may possibly be allied to those of the sectaries of S. Gaul, who were in their turn, as we have seen, linked up with the Eastern Paulicians and Bogomils. At any rate the wealthy layman Priscillian, together with a poet, a lady and four clergymen were executed in 383 for heresy, and it was resolved to stamp out the teaching by force. Vigorous protests, however, on the part of St. Martin of Tours and other like-minded men led to a discontinuance of these bloody proceedings.

The other great Spanish heresy was that of Adoptionism, put forth by Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, in the end of the eighth century. It aimed

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\* "Priscilliani qui supersunt." G. Schepss. Vienna, 1890.



at carrying the Chalcedonian definitions of the two Natures still further, and taught that Christ was in the matter of His Godhead Son of the Father by generation, in the matter of His Manhood Son only by adoption and grace. This teaching was condemned in the West in 792 and 794, but in the East it met with greater and more enduring success, and we have already seen that the teaching of Paul of Samosata and of the Paulicians is believed to bear considerable resemblance to it. A lesser heresy was that of Migetus, also of the eighth century. He taught that there were three bodily manifestations of the Trinity, that priests must be absolutely sinless, and that the faithful must not eat with unbelievers.

In Britain the division between  
**Britain.** Latin and Celtic Christianity was formally brought to a close at the Synod of Whitby in 664 ; but the various Teutonic, Scandinavian, and Norman settlements have produced in this island a series of strata in society and a variety of local differences which have had a considerable influence in the formation of sects. Pelagius was by birth a Briton, although he lived in Rome.

The period (725—847) is that of  
**Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century.** the Iconoclastic controversy in the Eastern Church. Iconoclasm has been the leading feature of many reforming movements, Christian and non-Christian alike. The

southern Hebrew King Hezekiah is reported to have been an iconoclast. Nanak, the founder of the Sikhs, was a great opponent of images. The Hypsistarians of the fourth century in Cappadocia professed a creed consisting half of heathenism and half of Judaistic Christianity, and rejected all visible representations of "the Most High God." They are somewhat akin to the *Cœlicolæ*, a North African sect of the days of Augustine. Mohammed himself was a great iconoclast; and in our own country the days of Edward VI. and of the Commonwealth contain many incidents of image-breaking and the shattering of pictures and painted windows. No doubt the progress of Islam influenced the Emperor Leo the Isaurian in his attack on the sacred images of Constantinople, but the remarkable fact remains that the iconoclastic party did not adopt a puritan standard of living, but set themselves against the ascetic ideal of the monks, and introduced gay customs into the court and city; so that they have been regarded by some historians as rationalist rather than puritan in their outlook. Certainly they were suspected of denying the Incarnation, and towards the middle of the ninth century the use of icons was revived, and persists to this day in the Eastern Church. Our own generation has seen a similar revival within a large part of the Anglican Communion.

Monasticism in many ways

**Monasticism.** exhibits the features of a string of ascetic sects. The separatist spirit made the layman prominent, and reduced the importance of the official clergy.\* True, there was a division of the sexes, but this is no more remarkable than the sex-divisions of latter-day adult-schools, male and female bible-classes (especially in the north of England), and the recent brotherhood movements. The tendency to a distinctive dress is very marked, whether it be among the various monastic orders, among the Albigenses, the Friends, or the Salvation Army.

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\* Compare the following extracts from Mr. Workman's "Evolution of Monasticism":—"Against . . . the conception of a great imperial institution as the channel of grace, with its apostolically descended bishops, presbyters, and deacons, its elaborate system of sacraments and its idea of solidarity in a common organisation, the monk opposed the life of the soul face to face with God, in direct, not intermediate communion with Him, outside all institutions, cut off . . . from all sacraments, independent of all bishops and presbyters, and with a solidarity with his fellows limited to spiritual communion." "In the fourth century Christianity was practically still a matter of the towns, and it was in the towns that life was at this time most hopelessly corrupt. The earnest Christian could see everywhere the trail of a heathenism nominally conquered, in reality still dominant." So the monk fled into the country. "O desert," cries St. Jerome, "enamelled with the flowers of Christ."

See also A. V. G. Allen, "Christian Institutions." "Monasticism was a veritable stampede from the Catholic Church, as though that great creation of Christian energy were no better than the evil world from which escape was sought."

The growing divergence between **East and West.** the Churches of Constantinople and Rome became acute during the papacy of Nicholas I, 858-867, and resulted in the Photian schism, in which the claims of the Pope over the Eastern See were disputed, and the doctrinal statement of the double procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son was denied by Photius and the Patriarch of Constantinople, who declared Nicholas excommunicate. The schism was formally healed in 869, and peace was preserved throughout the tenth century, though, as we shall see, it was not destined to be enduring.

**Movements of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.** At the beginning of the tenth century, William the Pious, Duke of Aquitaine, founded a new monastery at Cluny, in French Burgundy. Under its second abbot, Odo (927-941), this house became the centre of a great reformation. The Cluniac type of Benedictinism grew fashionable. Old and new communities alike sought the protection and guidance of the abbots of Cluny, and before long a system established itself in which the majority of the monastic houses in Europe subjected themselves to the Congregation at Cluny, and so to the Roman See. This was in some ways a useful step, since up to that time nearly every monastery had been, for all practical purposes, as independent of outside jurisdiction as a modern Congregational

chapel. As a result of the Cluniac Reformation, a whole swarm of new ascetic orders arose, especially in Italy, where Romuald of Ravenna gathered around him great bands of hermits from whom originated the order of Camaldoli, while John Gualbert, a Tuscan layman, established a similar community at Vallombrosa. Indeed, Italy and the South of France became for some time onward the centre of interest in our survey. Peter Damian, a zealous Camaldolite, headed a reforming movement throughout the peninsula in the early eleventh century, and his followers were contemptuously known as the Patarini, or Rag-pickers. Although hostile to the Pope, they do not appear to have organised themselves as separatists, a step which was taken somewhat later in the next century by the Petrobrusians. In the interval there arose more monastic movements, the Carthusians, the Order of Grammont, the Cistercians, and the Orders of Canons. In the first half of the eleventh century a heretical teacher named Gundulf excited some interest. In 1025 some strange folk were arrested in Arras and tried before a synod. They named Gundulf as the source of their tenets, and said that he was an Italian. They also said that he had taught them the precepts of the Gospels and the Apostles as sufficient for salvation. They rejected the sacraments and formal liturgies, and substituted lay preachers for the ecclesiastical

hierarchy. They combined this with severe asceticism, and with the condemnation of the married state as sinful. Most of them recanted, and were reconciled to the Church. In this movement we see the first glimpses of the movements which agitated Europe in the next century.

**The Twelfth  
Century.**

The literary and speculative revival of the twelfth century renaissance led inevitably to the rise of new sects, and from this time onward can be seen the beginnings of the movement which culminated in the sixteenth century. Anselm of Aosta supported the earlier tradition of the ecclesiastical schools, known as Realism, and was opposed by Roscelin, the true father of the scholastic philosophy. The Amalricians, followers of Amalric, a professor of Paris, in 1204, held strange views about the history of the world. Peter Abelard the Breton (1079-1142) and his pupil Arnold of Brescia are striking instances of the daring lengths to which the new spirit of enquiry and free reasoning could go. But for the time it was checked in the official centres of learning, and seeking fresh outlets assumed more popular shapes. Tauchelin of Antwerp (1115 or 1124) was a sort of early Wyclif, who demanded holiness of the clergy, and without organising a sect had a considerable band of followers. His enemies eventually killed him. For more than twenty years Peter de Bruys, an unfrocked priest, taught vigorously in the



South of France, and his followers came to be called Pebrobrusians. St. Bernard managed to secure the conversion of a good many to orthodoxy, and the rest joined themselves to the new sect of the Waldenses, or Vaudois. De Bruys was burnt alive in 1138 by a mob whom he had enraged with his iconoclastic tendencies. Peter Valdez, a rich merchant of Lyons, began in 1177 to wander about the country preaching repentance and literal imitation of the Apostles. He obtained a translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and gathered numerous disciples, was excommunicated by the Pope in 1184 and then joined the Petrobrusians. Before his death in 1197, the "Poor Men of Lyons," as his followers were called, had spread into Bohemia, Lorraine, Aragon and North Italy. Like their Master they rejected private property, and sweepingly denounced prayers for the departed, six of the seven sacraments (*i.e.* all but baptism) and military service. Their connection with the group of sects which includes the Paulicians, is obscure though undoubted. Witness their exaltation of baptism. It is most remarkable that the early Protestantism of Central Europe should take its rise from bodies whose tenets seem in many respects so far removed from those of the later "Bible" Protestants. These bodies influenced France possibly from two directions, coming either by way of North Africa or through the Rhineland into Picardy. Variations of them

soon swarmed in the South of France. From Albi, one of their strongholds in Toulouse, they took the name of the Albigenses, but they are also known as the Cathars or Puritans. Their exact relation to the ancient Gnostics and Manichaeans is much disputed. Guiraud, for example, the author of a monumental work\* upon them, declares that in their attitude towards marriage and the source of evil they were closely akin to the Buddhists. It must be noted, however, that his authorities are nearly all hostile witnesses, so that their testimony cannot be trusted. Mr. F. C. Conybeare, on the other hand, in his introduction to the "Key of Truth," argues that the Paulicians and all their descendants were primitive Protestants, and minimises their dependence upon Oriental dualism. He compares the Paulicians and Cathars to the Baptists. I must ask permission to notice here that a much later American sect, the "Old Two Seed in the Spirit" Predestinarian Baptists, had a strong affinity with Gnostic dualism, so that it is possible that both our historians may be right. A seventeenth century treatise on the Evangelical Churches in Piedmont admits their descent from the Cathars, but denies the Manichaeism of the latter. M. Paul Sabatier, in his "Life of St. Francis,"

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\* Guiraud, "Edition du Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille."

suggests that the saint saved Europe from being delivered into the hands of the Cathars, whom he regards as far less pure in their Christianity than the "Poor Men of Assisi." Where such differences of opinion exist, dogmatism must not be looked for. Some of the features of these sectaries, however, are worth attention. The "Poor Men of Lyons" keenly pursued lay-preaching, even when conducted by women. They resembled the Lollards of a later date, and also the Methodist preachers, and in their rejection of all forms, discipline, and tradition, in favour of the living Spirit, are true descendants of the earlier Montanists. Even in the life-time of Valdez there was a breach between the French and Italian Waldenses. The former sought to imitate keenly the practical simplicity of the apostolic age, but were content to remain a school within the Church. The latter were more radical, and refused to have any dealings with it. According to Guiraud the Cathars seem to have belonged to two classes. The first of these were thorough-going dualists. The second were "monarchian" dualists. They had a version of the New Testament, which is preserved, together with some of their ritual directions, in the Municipal Library at Lyons. Their practical teaching was as various as their theological doctrine. They despised fleshly and mundane things, and burst out in

consequence into extreme asceticism on the one hand, and extreme anti-nomianism on the other. The Turlepins for instance, one of their subdivisions, went about the streets naked, and declared themselves incapable of sin. Instead of the ordinary sacraments of the Church, the Cathars had a sort of spiritual baptism called Consolamentum, which was reserved for perfect believers. In this they seem to resemble the Bogomils of the Balkan States. The Waldenses adopted a distinctive dress, and in the South of France wore sandals in imitation of the Apostles. However irregular, these movements show that the mind of Europe was awakening, and it has been truly said that even if these popular sectaries could not reason, they could at least feel.\* Other bodies of the period about whom little is known are the Ortlibians, and the Pasagians (1184), a Judaising sect of Christians.

The rise of the friars is the great  
**The Thirteenth** feature of the thirteenth century. In  
**Century.** their attitude towards parish priests (whose jurisdiction they boldly invaded), and in their cult of the lay preacher, they were decidedly "dissenting" in spirit. In doctrine, however, they were pillars of orthodoxy, especially the Dominicans, who set themselves at Prouille, in the South of France, to combat the error of the Albigenses. At

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\* Tout, "The Empire and the Papacy."

the same time there rose up several Spanish military orders, some of them non-celibate. These were not a new feature, for the early Crusades had given rise to others, notably the Knights Templar, who were accused of Manichæanism in 1311 and suppressed, the Knights Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights of the Sword. The Franciscans, or Minorites, had orders for women as well as for men, and a further order of tertiaries was instituted for both sexes, who undertook, while practising their ordinary occupations, to keep a modified form of the vows. Unfortunately quarrels ensued among the Franciscans, which split them into Observantines, Clareni, Minorites of Narbonne, and Fraticelli, the latter an avowedly unorthodox sect.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century Gherardo Segarelli founded a genuine Protestant sect in North Italy, which was known as the "Apostolic Brethren," and was much persecuted. A little earlier there appeared at Hall, in Wurtemberg, a sect which claimed exclusive possession of religious truth, and sweepingly condemned all clergy, monks, and friars, but ordered prayers to be said for the Emperor Frederick and his son Conrad, "who are perfectly righteous." Somewhere about the same time appeared the communities of men and women in Flanders known as the Beghards and Béguines. They began as orthodox ascetics, who were not necessarily celibates. In the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries they were confused with the anti-nomian sects, and accused of heresy and especially of anti-trinitarian views. The Council of Constance improved their status. The Beghards are now extinct, but the Béguines still exist.

The fourteenth century introduces  
**The Fourteenth** us to the great Papal Schism which  
**Century.** scandalised Europe for more than fifty

years. In 1054, Michael Caerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, had shut up all the Latin Churches and monasteries in that city, and completed the permanence of the schism between East and West. And now the Latin Church itself witnessed a divided headship, and a steady growth of corruption on the part of its clergy. The spirit of Teutonic

Christianity reared its head in the  
**Wyclif.** persons of John Wyclif and Richard Rolle, who were both Yorkshiremen.

Wyclif's influence was felt even on the continent, and the Hussite movement, although its roots lay perhaps in some of the earlier protests against conventional Christianity, owed its immediate rise to the marriage of Richard II. of England to Anne of Bohemia, and to the consequent intercourse between the two countries, involving the absorption of Wyclif's teaching by

**Hus.** Anne herself, by John Hus, and by his disciple, Jerome of Prague.

Wyclif attacked the whole system of the age in



which he lived. Everything was wrong. Popes were wicked, bishops worldly, temporal princes absorbed in barren military expeditions, the rich too rich, the poor too poor. It was indeed "a sick century." The Lollard preachers, so far from resembling modern Protestant agitators, were much more like the present-day religious Labour leaders. Wyclif himself was for some years Master of Balliol, witty, humorous, and acute, of high moral character. Like John Wesley, he was at home among the aristocracy, and very capable in matters of statesmanship and organisation. His "simple priests" tramped the country far and wide, and had such powerful influence that it was said three out of every five men were Wyclifites. In 1375 Wyclif himself was selected as one of a deputation to meet the Pope's representatives at Bruges, and debate the relations between England and the Papacy, and the Crown shortly after presented him to the living of Lutterworth, where he settled down to write popular tracts, and to carry out the translation of the Bible. His modern spirit is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that he denounced capital punishment, condemned those trades which ministered to strife and luxury, such as the armourers' and jewellers', and held an advanced form of pacificism. He died in 1384, and the ruling classes persecuted his followers fiercely; but Lollardy continued latent among the middle and

lower classes, and was revived in other shapes under the Tudors.

**Continental  
Sects of the  
Fifteenth  
Century.** Just as the Albigensian movement and its descendant, the Huguenot movement, were partly racial, and due to the dislike felt by the Provençals at being governed from the North, so the Hussite movement was partly a national revolt of the Bohemian Slavs against German rule.\* The Hussites themselves were sub-divided. The Moderates, or Calixtines, favoured gentle reform, and wished to keep politics and religion apart. The Taborites, or Radicals, advocated Republican and Communistic theories. Hus, who vehemently urged the need of free preaching, communion in both kinds, and a virtuous clergy, was burnt at Constance in 1415. The Taborites themselves were split into numerous sub-sects, one of which bore the significant title of the Adamites (1421). A rather earlier German sect falls to be mentioned here, the Chorzantes, or Dancers, delirious enthusiasts who seem to have been the victims of a psychological epidemic, and greatly resemble the Shakers of New Lebanon, and the Russian Skakuni.

Mystical sects, such as the Friends of God, and the Brethren of the Common Life, sprang up during

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\*See Morley, "Notes on Politics and History," p. 56.

the fifteenth century in North Germany and Frisia. Like the early Methodists they did not separate from the Church, but met privately for the cultivation of the spiritual life. They were not necessarily celibates. A more serious movement was that of the *Homines Intelligentiae* (1410-11), who developed and extended the pantheistic mysticism of the Flemish poetess of the 14th century, Hadewick Blommaerdine. They made Brussels their centre, and were led by Aegidius Cantoris, a layman, and Willem van Hildervessen, a Carmelite. Cantoris once in an ecstasy ran naked through the streets of Brussels, calling himself the Saviour of humanity. In 1411 van Hildervessen was tried by inquisitors, and condemned to life-long imprisonment. The sect was in strange favour with the Brussels populace, who mobbed the inquisitors.

**The Great  
Reformation  
of the  
Sixteenth  
Century.**

The temptation to linger over the sixteenth century Reformation is great, but we must try to avoid excessive detail. Enough I hope has been written to show that it was not quite the unique period of disruption that popular history has represented it to be. Nevertheless it certainly marks a new incline, a fresh impulse, accelerating enormously the disruptive process. For the purpose of our survey we may treat it in three sections :

1. The rise of national churches.

2. Efforts after freedom of thought and conscience.
3. Anti-nomian movements.

**I. National Churches.** The rise of the national churches in Teutonic Europe is only paralleled by their development in the East, and in the West it is a much more sudden phenomenon. In Germany the principle "*cujus regio ejus religio*" was so far agreed upon as to give the several Princes great power in shaping the religious profession of their respective states, and determining the details of its establishment. By the year 1527, Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Ansbach, Anhalt, Brunswick-Lüneburg, East Friesland, Silesia, Schleswig-Holstein and East Prussia had been treated in this way. Saxony may be taken as a specimen. The Elector appointed superintendents, who filled the place of Bishops. Emphasis was laid upon teaching and preaching. The services were ordered to be in German, and Luther's hymns were used. The vestments, crucifix and candles, though abolished in some places, more especially where Zwinglian influence came in, were retained in others, and helped to give a sense of outward continuity. The Church in England may be said to have emphasized its national character as distinct from Rome by 1534.\* Denmark became a Lutheran Kingdom about 1537. Norway,

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\* Protestantism, but for the fear of Rome, and the nationalist spirit, would not have been easy to establish in England.

as the result of Danish influence, about the same time. France was not so successful. In Henry IV she had a Huguenot King, but Gallicanism has never been able to establish a French Patriarchate.

**II. Intellectual  
Unrest.**

These various national religious movements availed themselves of the contemporary unrest which prevailed in the religious world. The gradual awakening of the Teutonic consciousness had, as we have seen, been going on for some centuries. After 1453 it received stimulus from a variety of sources—the revival of ancient learning, the discovery of the new world, and the spread of printed books. Face to face with new facts, it seized upon them with avidity, and began to generalise freely and to construct new systems of faith and philosophy. It is customary to connect the various sectarian movements with one or another of the three great names, Luther in Germany, Zwingli in Switzerland, and Calvin in France. It should be noted, however, that Luther's influence spread northward outside Germany, that Zwingli was in the beginning a Humanist of somewhat doubtful morals rather than a Puritan reformer, that Calvin's stronghold was at Geneva, and that a vast multitude of smaller men such as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, Cochlaeus and others played a part of no small importance. With these reservations, the threefold division is substantially correct. The Reformers were, of course, divided

considerably among themselves. They were making experiments. They lacked the tradition of Roman authority and organisation. Like many other intensely religious people, their moral balance was unsteady. Licentiousness is strangely enough the great pitfall of religious enthusiasts.

**III. Anti-nomianism.**

This leads us to speak of the looser and less disciplined movements. They fall under the general title of Anabaptism, an unfortunate word, because it emphasizes only the custom which prevailed among some of them of re-baptizing their converts. Like Manichaeism, it was applied by the more steady Christians to almost any band of undisciplined reformers. Anabaptism took its rise in Zurich in 1524, under the leadership of Konrad Grebel, Felix Manz and Georg Blaurock, and spread rapidly. It was vigorously denounced by Luther,\* Zwingli and Calvin in their writings, and seems to have been the residuary legatee of all those earlier movements of which the Cathars are a specimen. The Reformation in Italy was at first conservative. Naples is described by Caraffa as "a nest of heresy," and the names of Juan de Valdes, Ochino, Vermigli, and Pietro Carnesecchi are connected with it. But in a few years it became radical, and in 1550 there are

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\* The celebrated Zwickau Prophets were certainly antinomian.



reported to have been a thousand Anabaptists in Venice. The Chief Italian radical is Camillo Renato, who was also an Anti-Trinitarian. He died in 1570. In Swabia Wilhelm Reublin (1480-1559) represents the movement. In Münster the Anabaptists were strong enough to establish a theocracy, which they called the "New Jerusalem," under Johann Bockhold (1534-5), the illegitimate son of a magistrate. Other antinomian movements of a distinct pantheistic tendency were the Libertines, founded by one Coppin in 1529, and prevailing chiefly in the Netherlands and the north of France, and the Loïsts and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who laid great stress upon the Immanence of the Holy Ghost, and declared that the human spirit in itself was sinless. The Familists, or Family of Love, were founded by Niklaes of Westphalia in 1501 or 1502.

The Mennonites are really a series

**Mennonites,** of groups of anti-paedo-baptists and  
**Baptists and** anti-sacerdotal reformers, who came  
**Independents.** into existence from 1523 onwards.

They took their name from Menno Simons (1498-1559). Efforts after a pure church, and direct communion with God, together with the free preaching of God's Holy Word, and the abolition of "the filthy Canon Law," are responsible for a majority of the Free Church movements in Europe, and though they are exaggerated, and in their "puritanism" mere

repetitions of the ancient Novatianist movement, they excite a good deal of our sympathy. The Waterlanders, who were really Independents, and not true Mennonites, seceded in 1535. The Dutch Mennonites were sober folk, and it is from them, through their English admirers, John Smith,\* Thomas Helwys and John Murton, that the English Baptist community derives its origin. We cannot say, however, that the English Free Churches owe their existence entirely to continental influence. The Reformation movements at home and abroad run parallel, and the only *great* external influence in this island is Calvin. Nonconformity, however, received a considerable impulse from (1) the Marian persecution, which drove a good many reformers abroad, and taught them the ways of foreign Protestants, and (2) the Acts of Uniformity, which were enforced at intervals. The names of Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), Robert Browne, who with Robert Harrison founded in 1581 the first Congregational Church outside London, Barrow and Greenwood, are familiar to all who have studied this period; and it is noteworthy that Cambridge was a great centre of reforming activity, and that the clergy of Northamptonshire were so far united that they mapped out a scheme for ruling their parishes

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\* Smith appears to have baptized himself, and to have argued in justification of his action.

and ordering their services independently of the Canons of the Church. Radical reform, however, was for a long time only a spirit or temper within the Anglican Church, and it was not until it became apparent that the mass of the English people were not ready to submit to it, that the radical reformers were driven to re-consider their position, and to adopt the alternative of either leaving England for Holland or America, or setting up separated Churches at home. Thus arose the first bodies of American Puritans or Pilgrim Fathers, and the first organised Free Churches in this country.

Scotland, under Knox, developed **Presbyterians.** on extreme continental lines, both Calvinistic and Presbyterian. In England, Presbyterianism did not make great strides until the time of the Civil War, when the victorious Parliament strove to impose it upon all the Anglican parishes. Its great aim was to get back to the organisation of the primitive Church. There is much to be said for this no doubt, as indeed there is for all the Reformation "reversions to type," but the Presbyterians were as rigid as their Episcopal brethren in rejecting development, and the evolution of episcopacy, "due allowance being made for local conditions," is admitted by many in these latter days to have made at any rate for the "bene esse" of the Church. At the Restoration most of the English Presbyterians were re-absorbed into the Anglican

Church. Some however remained distinct, and either drifted into Unitarianism (as at Hale and Knutsford in Cheshire) or became the parents of modern English Presbyterian communities. With Scottish disruption we shall deal later.

**France and the Huguenots.** In France the Huguenot movement derives its origin from various sources. There were first the Protestants of Piedmont and the South of France, who had never been entirely crushed out of existence. Next there was the movement led by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, who translated the Bible into French and published a commentary on the Pauline Epistles, and afterwards accompanied his friend Briçonnet to Meaux, where the latter was made Bishop and established a kind of "modernist" centre of learning. Thirdly there was the influence of German Lutheranism. In 1535 the Huguenots (the origin of the name is obscure) founded a separate place of worship in Paris. Calvin, who was really a native of Picardy, published his "Institutes" between 1531 and 1536, and by 1550 and thence onwards French Protestants were for the most part Calvinists. The Reformer himself became a sort of Protestant Pontiff, and his pronouncements a standard of orthodoxy. The Huguenot wars in France were partly a matter of local as against national feeling, liberty of conscience and Protestantism being made the tools of men who had other interests to promote. In 1598 the Edict

of Nantes gave toleration to the Huguenots ; but in 1685 this was revoked, and many of them fled out of France, a large number coming to England. Some settled at Wandsworth in Surrey, and may possibly have strengthened the feeling which led to the Methodist movement taking strong hold there.\* Their cemetery is still to be seen. Others settled at Canterbury, where one of the crypt chapels in the Cathedral is still set apart for their use, and service is conducted in accordance with their liturgy.

The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe expressed itself in the rise of numerous orders, most of them,

like preceding ones, slightly sectarian in form. Of these the Jesuits are the most striking example, but other lesser ones were the Oratorians, Capuchins, Theatines, and Barnabites, and in the seventeenth century the Piarists, Visitationists, Brothers of Christian Love, Redemptorists, Trappists, and Ignorants. To their credit be it said that the Roman leaders, by the wisdom with which they permitted the free organisation within the Church of these various communities, certainly succeeded in retaining many enthusiasts,† who might otherwise have been

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\*The Wandsworth Methodist Circuit is said to be the earliest to have been formed in this country.

†One curious instance of Independency in Catholicism occurs. Regnerus Praedinius was a Roman teacher, whose pupils dispensed the Eucharist in both kinds. He was accused of heresy, and banished.

lost to her. There were, however, limits to their wisdom on the one hand, as there were limits to the balance and prudence of the enthusiasts on the other, and racial differences, together with lack of tradition, and the attempt to study and interpret the Christian documents apart from the experience of the Christian community, have inevitably separated Latin Christians from their Protestant brethren. Paradoxical as it may seem, there is far more affinity between the extreme west and the extreme east, for, as Dr. Headlam\* has shown, the treatment by the Holy Orthodox Church, accorded to the Bible as an incident in a chain of tradition, and the position of the Orthodox clergy, are much less repugnant to Protestants than the refusal to appeal to documents and the separation of the priest from the congregation, which are the fatal characteristics of Latin Christianity, especially since the Council of Trent.

If Calvinism taught the helplessness of man and the omnipotence of God, it was hardly surprising that it should evoke a strong reaction. This is chiefly connected with Arminius (Professor at Leyden 1603-1609) and Arminianism continues to be of importance right through the next century and a half. We have seen its counterpart in Hindu

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\* A. Headlam, "History, Authority and Theology." London, 1909.



religion. As a matter of fact, under different names the conflict must constantly arise between those who look upon men as "workers together with God," however sinful and imperfect, and those who declare

"With God . . . puppets best and worst,  
Are we : there is no last nor first."

Arminius keenly contested with his fellow-teacher Gomar against the rights of a Church to use coercive excommunication. This con-

**Erastus.** troversy is also associated with the name of Erastus of Heidelberg, who protested against the Calvinistic clerical domination—a thing even worse than the Inquisition. That view of the Church which to-day goes by the name of Erastianism denies all power to it, and treats it merely as that department of the State which provides religious services.

The seventeenth is even a more  
**The** bewildering century than its pre-  
**Seventeenth** decessor. The full strength of the  
**Century.** forces generated by the sixteenth century Reformation was felt all over Christendom, and stirred up the best and the worst in humanity. It is the age of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and of the Civil War in England. It is the age of innumerable sects. Amid such a welter of turbulent activity, I must ask to be excused if my survey is lacking in clearness.

Broadly speaking, the first stage of the Reformation had led to the setting up of Protestant establishments and to the hardening of Latin Christianity by the Counter-Reformation. The first stage was also one of intellectual debate. Naturally enough the second stage was one of radical protest against the establishments on the one hand and of mysticism and quietism on the other. The various Lutheran and Calvinist establishments at home and abroad soon began to be challenged. In England the publication of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" in 1594 shook the foundations of Calvinism. The Presbyterian system set up by the vanquishers of Charles I. did not go nearly far enough for the numerous radical bodies, Seekers, Ranters, Levellers, Fifth Monarchy Men, Hutchinsonians, and the like. In Germany, after the Thirty Years' War there arose numerous Pietist bodies of whom we must speak later on. It is to be noted that the Presbyterian would have nothing to do with toleration. It was to him "a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly into." After this, we need hardly be surprised

to find that the greatest English

**The Friends.** sect of the seventeenth century,

The Friends or Quakers, was

persecuted both in England and America. George Fox, its founder, received enlightenment "on the ninth day of the seventh month," 1643. He became a wanderer on the face of the earth, till

gradually light broke upon him, and he began to hear the voice of God for himself. The story of the Quakers, and indeed of all kindred mystical sects, has been told in great detail by Professor Rufus Jones.\* Parallel to the Friends' movement is that on the Continent associated with the names of François Malaval, Miguel de Molinos the Spaniard†, and Madame Guyon. It taught that "perfection consists in an escape from all subordinate cares, a state of mind in which the worshippers might be said to have entered the holy of holies, and to have merged all social and selfish affections in the one overwhelming omnipresent emotion of love for the supreme source and object of every tender feeling." Something like this has been taught by all the mystics. But Molinos' Quietism seemed to dispose of all action, effort and responsibility. Browning, in the "Ring and the Book," makes the Italians speak of the Molinists as a narrow Anglican to-day might speak of the Christian Scientists. Probably this is quite correct. Molinos was condemned, and died in prison in 1696. Fox and his friends were opposed by the whole weight of public opinion, backed by

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\* "Studies in Mystical Religion" and "The Early Quakers in America."

† An orthodox sect derived from the 16th century saints, S. Teresa and S. John of the Cross, continued to exist in Spain, and bore the name of the "Alombrados," or "enlightened."

the authorities in Church and State. They were whipped, imprisoned, and treated with horrible cruelty. The American authors Longfellow and Whittier have popularised the story of their sufferings in verse. It is to be noted that the earlier Friends were pan-sacramental rather than anti-sacramental. As mystics, every meal and indeed life as a whole was to them a sacrament, but the *social* value of sacramental ordinances was overlooked by them, except in so far as they adopted a peculiar style of speech and dress. Like the Lollards of an earlier date they were pacifists, and indeed their emphasis on the "peace-making" aspect of the Gospel is one of the chief practical benefits they have conferred upon mankind. It is safe to say that they have led the way in the discrediting of military Christianity (which dates from 313 A.D.) and that they have taught Christians the need of deepening the spiritual life by a quiet waiting upon God.

**Boehme and  
Mysticism.**

Jacob Boehme or Behmen, the author of "The Signature of all Things," who lived between 1575 and 1624, had a large number of disciples not only around Görlitz in Prussia, but indeed throughout Europe. His mysticism is innocent and interesting, and had considerable influence upon William Law. It perhaps also produced the absurd mystical sect of the Muggletonians (1608-1658) in England.

Jansenism in France was intellectual rather than mystical. It did not at first form itself into a separate sect. Jansen, Bishop of Ypres in the Netherlands, published in 1638 a book on Augustine, which by its respect for personal experience attracted the attention of those religious men in France who had found comfort neither in Calvinism nor in the Counter-Reformation, and who had grown up semi-pagan. It is chiefly associated with the community of Port Royal and with the great name of Pascal. It was condemned at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the Papal bull "Unigenitus." The Jansenist leaders, Arnauld and Quesnel, sought refuge in Holland, and the Jansenist Church is strong in the neighbourhood of Utrecht to this day, and has great intimacy with the Old Catholics of 1870. During the period 1650 to 1750 the Gallican Church came as near as it has ever come to independence of the See of Rome.

Before leaving the seventeenth century, reference must be made to the Hattemists, a Dutch sect, founded at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1641, who preached a passive Christianity, ("Man must not seek his salvation, because in that case he seeks himself,") and who disappeared after 1760; to the Philadelphian Society, founded by Jane Lead, an English mystic (1623-1704); to the

**Miscellaneous  
Sects.**

Lodensteinians, who were followers of Jodaeus van Lodenstein, an ascetic preacher of the Netherlands (1620-1677) who reformed the life of the country by his earnestness, and who kept apart from external Church organisations but did not, like Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), found a separate body of dissenters; and to the followers of John Pordage, rector of Bradfield in Berks, who was a disciple of Boehme, and something of an astrologist, was dispossessed by the Presbyterians in 1654 and re-instated in 1663.

The eighteenth century sects group themselves under the heads of Pietism, Deism, Methodism, and Enlightenment. In Germany the early Lutherans had from the outset disputed with followers of Melancthon and Calvin, and between intellectual hair-splitting and the fanaticism of the Thirty Years' War, spiritual religion

1. **Pietism.** in German life seemed to have gone to pieces. The much-needed religious revival came chiefly through the efforts of Philip Jacob Spener, an Alsatian pastor, who in 1666, while still young, found himself at the head of the Evangelical clergy in Frankfort-on-the-Main. In 1670, he began to hold prayer-meetings (*collegia pietatis*) in his house, and he afterwards published his views upon the training of the clergy in the Lutheran Church under the title of "*Pia Desideria*."



He deprecated the tendency of many clergy to regard religion from the purely intellectual standpoint, and urged them to quicken their own spiritual life and the life of their parishioners. Many of the clergy adopted Spener's suggestions, and on his reputation increasing, he was made Court Chaplain at Dresden in 1686. Some of his greatest followers were Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), Francke, and Bengel (1687-1752). The latter produced a remarkably fine commentary on the New Testament, and was a pioneer in the matter of textual criticism. Spener's movement divided the religious world of Germany into Pietists and Orthodox. Receiving their title as a term of reproach, the Pietists afterwards became proud of it, and although they intended to be perfectly free from heresy, laid great stress on conversion, and believed that many things were hidden from learned men whose eyes had not been opened by the Spirit of God.

A branch of the Pietist movement is the sect formed by Hockmann (1670-1721). He taught the possibility of perfect sanctification in this life, rejected infant baptism, and declared that the Church was the reign of the Holy Spirit on earth, separate from the State. A division in the sect occurred afterwards, in regard to the possible validity of infant baptism.

Spener's work was carried on further by Count

Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). The ancient order of Bohemian brethren, an offshoot of the fifteenth century Hussites, was by Zinzendorf, with the aid of a devout carpenter, Christian David, re-organised and established on his estate at Berthelsdorf. The community took the name of Herrnhut (Lord's guard), and the inspiration of the devout nobleman guided it through many early controversies and gave it a firm constitution. In 1736 it was affiliated to the local Lutheran Church. Great diversity of doctrine was permitted in this *Unitas Fratrum* as it was also called. Celibates and non-celibates alike were allowed the privileges of membership, the ancient names of bishop, presbyter, and deacon were retained, and considerable care was exercised in the preservation of an orderly succession of ministers.\* The years 1743 to 1750 were critical ones in the history of the Moravian *Unitas*. During this time it experienced a strange burst of exaggerated emotionalism. Hymns of a wild

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\* It is interesting to observe that a Moravian community at Mirfield in Yorkshire was intimately connected till recent times with the Anglican Church of that neighbourhood. It appears lately, however, to have drifted into the looser un-sacramental Protestantism of the present day. The last Lambeth Conference (of 1908) declared the orderly succession not proven by the committee appointed to enquire into it, but Bishop Hassé, President of the Directing Board of the Moravian Church, challenges their conclusions. He considers, however, that the *Unitas Fratrum* is favourably disposed towards closer relations with Anglicans.

character were sung, and devotions to the Wounds of Our Lord encouraged. The episode bears a strange resemblance to the cult of the Sacred Heart and of the Five Wounds in latter-day popular Romanism. The Unitas survived this crisis, and when Zinzendorf died in 1760, his successor Spangenberg (d. 1792) preserved the community in the maintenance of a sober form of Lutheranism.

The eighteenth century in England

**2. Deism.** was a period of reaction. After the Civil War and the heated controversies which preceded and followed the Restoration, came the Revolution of 1688, with its consequent schism of the Anglican Non-Jurors who founded an organised sect with a succession of bishops, which continued right on to the time of the battle of Trafalgar. After such doings, religious zeal seemed exhausted. Enthusiasm was deprecated.

Among the Anglicans, Latitudinarian

**In England.** intellectualism took its place. The Free Churches suffered a curious decline in power, and though they took pains to diagnose their trouble, the remedy seemed lacking. The chief school of thought of the period goes by the name of the "Deists." These writers did not organise a sect, but strove by their works to create a strong party of those who regarded Christianity as "not mysterious," and believed in a natural religion independent of revelation. The Berœans,

or Barclayites, founded in 1773 by John Barclay, denied natural religion, and depended solely upon Scriptural revelation. In other respects they were Calvinist. Among English Deists Hume is the only man with a European reputation, and his chief opponents in this country were Bishop Butler, Warburton, Nathaniel Lardner, and Paley.

On the continent Deism also  
**And Abroad.** flourished. A deistic sect existed in North Germany in 1782, and in France the chief signs of the day are the ascendancy of D'Argenson (1740) (who was a deist) over Cardinal Fleury, and the appearance of Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes" and his *Encyclopædia*. The Duchess of Orleans wrote: "I do not believe there are a hundred persons in Paris, either amongst the ministers of the Church or amongst men of the world, who hold the true Christian faith, or who even believe in our Saviour."

The end of this dreary period  
**3. Methodism.** may be said to dawn with the appearance of the brothers Wesley at Oxford in 1729. The story of the early Methodists is too well known to need repetition here. For the purposes of our survey it is, however, important to note the remarkable sub-divisions of Methodism. Whitefield, the Calvinistic leader of the sect, soon established a separate branch of Calvinistic

Methodists.\* In addition to the Wesleyans we find the Independents, who have no paid ministry, the Primitives (1807), the Bible Christians (1815), the New Connexion (1797), the United Free (1850), and last, but not least, the Salvation Army, which certainly began as a Methodist movement, but has developed Montanist and "Corybantic" tendencies, and in various respects resembles the Franciscan order of the thirteenth century. Objection is sometimes taken to the fact that Methodism is characterised as "emotional." True, Bishop Butler declared John Wesley's pretensions to special inspiration "a very horrid thing," but after the dryness of the early eighteenth century, evangelical fervour and unction came as a necessary and welcome change. It must be admitted, however, that the same fervour and unction have sometimes become as conventional as a "high-church voice," and that they have degenerated into self-complacency and unctuousness, and also that Wesley himself did not always control the excesses of his followers, but even shared in them. The extract from his journal dated April 26th, 1739, and quoted

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\* The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists are a decided racial schism. The Protestant Methodists, founded in 1828 at Leeds, as the result of a dispute about the use of organs, have long since ceased to exist. The Methodist Community in London was greatly influenced by the Moravians.

below\* records phenomena which occur to-day in some revival meetings. The point at which the border-line of hysteria is crossed is a matter needing grave consideration. Methodism had a strong reflex influence upon the Anglican Church. It was looked upon by Free Churchmen with suspicion at the outset,

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\* *April 26, 1739.* At Newgate (Bristol) I was led to pray that God would bear witness to His word. Immediately one and another and another sank to the earth, they dropped as if thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God on her behalf, and he turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also. . . . In the evening one was so wounded that you would have imagined she could not live for a moment.

At Wapping we read: "Some sank down and there remained no strength in them. Others exceedingly trembled and quaked. Some were torn with a convulsive movement in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them."

And elsewhere: "While I was thus speaking one dropped down as dead, and then a second and a third. Five others sank down in half-an-hour, most of whom were in violent agonies."

It is to be noted that Wesley did not understand women as well as men. Witness his entanglement with the widow Vazeille. Sir Arthur Quiller Couch has developed this feature in "Hetty Wesley."

The Archbishop, John Potter, said of the Wesleys: "Those gentlemen are irregular, but they have done good, and I pray God to bless them."

What Charles Kingsley, however, thought of their successors may be gathered from "Two Years Ago," ch. xvii.

The polished scholarly Free Churchman of to-day is hardly a descendent of the early Methodists. He is much more like Charles Wesley, who was always restrained. The real descendants are the conductors of the great popular missions in Birmingham, London and Manchester.



but afterwards became a source of inspiration to them also. John Wesley is in many ways the greatest religious leader that the Anglo-Saxon race has as yet produced.

**Miscellaneous  
German Sects.** The middle of the eighteenth century in Germany must not be passed over without some reference to miscellaneous pietist, mystical, and antinomian sects, the followers of Emmanuel Swedenborg, John George Gichtel, Daniel Müller, the Witgenstein settlement, the "Instruments of the Holy Ghost," and the two infamous and immoral communities known respectively as the Buttlar Gang (1702), and the Ronsdorf Sect (1733). The latter centred round a certain Mother Anna, who was expected to give birth to the Messiah. Needless to say the expectation was not fulfilled, but she managed to retain the respect of the community to the end of her days. A similar hope was maintained by the Englishwoman, Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), whose delusion was enhanced by the phenomena of a painful disease, to which she eventually succumbed.\* The Bordelumians of Sleswick in Saxony (1739), taught that they were saints who had advanced to a greater degree of spirituality than St. Paul, and

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\* The cradle which was prepared for her royal offspring is to be seen in the Museum at Victoria Park, Manchester.

indulged in free love. They were put down forcibly in the year of their appearance. The brothers Kohler, of Bruggeln, in Switzerland, practised deliberate fraud and blasphemy, but even after one of them had been most justly hanged for his enormities, his credulous followers believed that he gave spiritual signs of his presence with them.

In contrast to these manifestations  
**4. The** of perverse superstition are the move-  
**Revolutionary** ments of Revolution and Enlighten-  
**Period, and the** ment, with which the eighteenth  
**"Aufklärung."** century closes. With Kant, the  
 German Socrates (1724-1804), we enter upon  
 a new period in the history of philosophy,  
 and consequently, of theology. The same period  
 marks the beginning of the great critical  
 movement in Germany, one of whose early  
 heroes is Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who is said  
 to have prepared Bismarck for Confirmation.  
 J. B. Basedow gave expression to the new spirit  
 when he founded his institution, or community,  
 called the Philanthropinum, in which nothing was  
 to be taught which could give offence to Christian,  
 Jew, Mohammedan, or Deist, the aim being to  
 train persons to lead virtuous and unselfish lives.  
 In opposition to what were thought by some to  
 be dangerous tendencies such societies as John  
 Urlsperger's "Christentumsgesellschaft" (1779)

were inaugurated for brotherly intercourse among all who revered Christ as their Lord and Saviour. Another body of the same period is that of the Illuminati, founded by one Weishaupt, in 1777, who were half Jesuits, half Freemasons. In the later July Revolution of 1830, the Abbé Chatel attempted to revive an earlier Revolutionary sect, the Theophilanthropists, and to give it a Christian form, as an Anti-Roman French-Catholic Church. It soon, however, rejected the Divinity of Christ, and after a feeble existence of twelve years was suppressed by the police. Yet even the Revolutionary period had its excesses, and the multiplication of apocalyptic sects of the type of the Rappists (1785-1847) in Wurtemberg, was a real source of anxiety to the civil authorities, who eventually agreed to sanction the formation of a settlement, at Kornthal, near Ludwigsburg, where those whose conscience made it difficult for them to conform to the ordinary laws of the land might practice their own peculiar customs. Margaret Peter (1816), in Zurich, had a small band of adherents, and her unbalanced temper led her to offer her own sister as a human sacrifice, and cause herself to be crucified as a repetition of the Atonement. The Muckers of Konigsberg (1826) were a mystical sect holding a species of Manichæan dualism. There was a secession from them in 1819, and the leader, J. W. Ebel, was,

in 1835, the subject of a criminal prosecution for immorality.

**The Nineteenth  
Century.**

The nineteenth century is the age of scientific discovery, and a cynic might observe that it was the age of re-union, because the forces of religion, being obscurantist, banded themselves together to resist the onslaught of the relentless seeker after exact truth. There is unhappily more in this than some are willing to admit. But it is not quite an accurate summary. In the first place it was a period in which there was a good deal of disruption. In the second place the re-union movement is not confined to religion, and is a feature of our own rather than of the last century. In the third place religion rests on a basis of experience and human consciousness except in the cases of non-religious folk (who alone place custom and authority *first*), and therefore vital religion was far less shaken than might have been expected by the apparently overwhelming onslaught of the materialists, and on the contrary went on expanding, so that the period 1814-1914 shows an immense extension of Christian missionary work, in which, however, the Anglican Church took a disproportionately small part.

It is only with the first of these objections that we are at the moment concerned. Nineteenth century disruption in Europe is chiefly centred

round Romanticism, the Kulturkampf, and the Vatican Council of 1870.

**1. Romanticism.** The Romantic movement, arising perhaps out of a reaction from the Revolutionary age, led a good many back to the Roman Church, which in contradistinction to Protestantism appealed to the emotional and æsthetic side of human personality. In England this movement resulted in the formation of the Tractarian, Puseyite, High Church, or as it liked to be called, the Catholic party in the Anglican Church; also to the rise of the Irvingites or Catholic-and-Apostolic Church, whose founder Edward Irving was originally a noted Presbyterian preacher, and who developed an elaborate ritual, and great Apocalyptic expectations which were, however, disappointed. The Protestant reaction against these produced comparatively small results, and the so-called Free Church of England is an unimportant body, with only two bishops, and very few members. Evangelicalism and Tractarianism put new life into the Anglican Communion, and led to an enormous increase in its activity, and the fair dealing of the Bishops, in spite of some unhappy mistakes, such as the Public Worship Regulation Act, retained both Puritans and Liberals within its borders. Indeed the Liberal School, associated with the names of Arnold, Kingsley, Stanley and Maurice, has from their day onward steadily gained in influence. By

itself alone it would perhaps be barren in results, but its reflex action has stimulated a love for sound learning and a respect for truth among members of other schools of thought. The growth of liberal theology was a great shock to Romanticism, and the teaching of Dr. Colenso in Natal led the ecclesiastics of the day to supersede him by an "orthodox" bishop in 1866, so that a schism was created which continued till his death in 1883. Those who uphold the spiritual independence of the Church regret that Colenso was encouraged to retain his office by the judgement of Lord Romilly in a civil court. It seems certain, however, that this court reflected the opinion of lay Churchmen of the period, and however undesirable such judgements may be, it is hard to see in what other way lay opinion could at that time have expressed itself. Changes have taken place since then, both in the enlightenment of the clergy, and in the opportunities given to the laity of expressing their feelings. Romanticism on the continent resulted in a new school of thought led in France by François René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), and in Germany by Tieck and the brothers von Schlegel. A mystical sect of the same period in Switzerland was founded by Frau von Krüdener (1764-1824) a novelist, and widow of a Russian diplomat, and was nicknamed the "Momiers." It speedily subsided, and was never regarded as anything but a piece of eccentricity.



The Free Churches have been going through their Oxford Movement, but there were not many new communities added to their number, except that of the Darbyites, or Plymouth Brethren, a thorough-going reversion to type, led by an ex-Anglican clergyman, John Nelson Darby (1800-1882). They were divided into two parties before his death, and have since been frequently sub-divided. They laid great stress on individual conviction, and their faith was so warm that their influence spread through Germany, France, and Switzerland, as well as into the New World. They taught the literal doctrine of the Fall, and the consequent infallibility of the Scriptures. There are six branches of them to-day. The Salvation Army has already been mentioned. In imitation of it an Anglican community was afterwards founded, called the Church Army, under the leadership of Mr. Wilson Carlile. Unitarianism will be dealt with when we come to speak of America.

**2. The Kulturkampf and the Vatican Council.** The Kulturkampf\* and the Vatican Council may be taken together, as signifying a large movement known in German circles as the "Los von Rom" Movement. This of course had begun at the time of the sixteenth century Reformation. Then came the

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\* Or struggle for culture against obscurantism.

Counter-Reformation and the strengthening of the Papacy in its hold over those territories where Latin Christianity still prevailed. The ascendancy of France was accompanied by a corresponding decline in Papal influence, and the latter part of the eighteenth century saw the suppression of the Jesuits, who were expelled in turn from France 1764, Spain 1767, Naples and Sicily 1767, and Parma 1768, and were formally abolished by the Pope Clement XIV., in 1773, apparently because he saw that the Powers gave him no alternative. It is significant that Clement died next year, probably from poison. Unrest in Germany followed, also in Spain, Portugal, and Austria, Justinus Febronius of Treves publishing in 1763 a treatise which attacked the theory of the Papacy, and had great influence in nearly every country of Europe. The Emperor Joseph II. of Austria proceeded to reform the Roman Church in that country in accordance with its views. Altogether the few years preceding the French Revolution were not encouraging for the Papacy. When the storm of the next two decades had somewhat cleared, it was seen with its temporal and European authority considerably diminished, but with plenty of determination to win back what it could. Pius VII. (1814-1823) revived the Jesuits, and it has become a commonplace that the history of modern Romanism is the history of

that Order. The next three popes were men of no particular importance, but Pius IX., who was elected in 1846, if he failed completely to re-establish his temporal dominion in the face of the growing national spirit in Italy, at any rate secured for his office a respect in matters moral and spiritual which under previous circumstances had hardly ever obtained. He also succeeded in stirring liberal and rationalist thought in Europe into a frenzy of indignation.\* In 1854 he decreed the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. In 1864 he issued a syllabus condemning "the principal errors of our age," among which he regarded as the chief (1) freedom to choose one's religion, (2) the denial of the right of the Church to use force, (3) the claim of non-Romanists to exercise their religion publicly in Roman countries. In 1867 he created twenty-five new saints, and in 1869 he issued a summons to a council at the Vatican and politely invited Easterns and Protestants to return to "the only fold of Christ." The council, when it met was marked by many unsatisfactory features, not the least being the difficulty of debate, since only Latin might be spoken, and the acoustic properties of the Hall prevented the greater part of the assembly from understanding what was being said. On the 18th of July, 1870, the

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\* See Swinburne's "Songs before Sunrise."

Infallibility of the Holy Father was solemnly decreed. In the preliminary ballot, out of 601 bishops 451 voted in favour of it, 88 against it, and 62 for a modification of it. In the final voting there were only two dissentients, one of them an American; but at least fifty-six of the non-placets had previously returned to their dioceses. Most Roman Catholics felt it their duty to submit. But a substantial minority seceded, either before or after the decree, and it is with these secessions that we must next deal.

**The Old  
Catholics.  
In Germany.**

The greatest is that of the Germans,\* commonly known as the "Old Catholics," who though they were as far as possible from wishing to form a schism, desired to protest against what they held to be innovations. Chief among these men was the learned and able J. Ignaz von Döllinger, who right up to his death in 1890 continued to devote his talents to the defence of his fellow-conservatives. Their position was indeed a difficult one. Recognizing the primacy of the Pope in Western Christendom, they were nevertheless setting at

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\* There was a small schism in 1844, caused by a dispute over the virtues of the relic known as the Holy Coat of Trier, and J. Ronge and J. Czerski formed a "German-Catholic" society, which, however, only lasted some four years and vanished in the Revolution of 1848.

nought his more recent pronouncements. Relations were opened by the Old Catholics with the Jansenists in Holland, the Greek Church and the Evangelical Churches. Some of them even went through a "double conversion" and became Old Lutherans. Bismarck favoured the Old Catholics, but his patronage, although it encouraged a better and more liberal education for the clergy, seemed to fetter the Church to the State, and in the long run led to a reaction in the Roman direction.

The Old Catholics in Italy are a mere handful, under a bishop and twelve clergy, and were founded by Count Enrico de Campello; but an Evangelical or Free Italian Church formed itself in 1870, and since then the Wesleyans and Baptists have increased in numbers, and an Evangelical military association was formed in 1898.

In France the tendency has been towards anti-clericalism; but in 1883 Père Hyacinthe, the famous preacher of the Madeleine, founded the Catholic Gallican Church. He left it, however, the next year, and went to Geneva, where he strove to form a society in which Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans might all join in worship.

In North America a small body of Reformed Catholics came into existence in 1879. They have only six Churches and eight clergy.

**Switzerland.** In Switzerland a Christian-Catholic community was formed in 1876, and Professor Herzog of Bern was consecrated to be its head by the Old Catholic Bishop Reinkers of Bavaria. The State sided with it, and expelled the Infallibilist Bishop Lachat from his diocese for some years.

**South America.** In South America and Mexico an Evangelical body known as the Iglesia de Jesus gained some headway.

**The Philippines.** In the Philippine Islands about twenty years later a dispute between a priest called Aglipaz and the land-owning friars led to a considerable schism of Independent Catholics, of whom there are now said to be some three millions. After the cession of the islands to the United States a body called La Iglesia Evangelica Filipina was formed.

**Modernism and Liberal Protestantism.** Modernism has so far deliberately refused to form an organised schism, its upholders claiming everywhere the right to a place in the existing churches as a definite school of thought. The teaching of Bishop Colenso was not voluntarily schismatic. In America as far back as 1845 Isaac Thomas Hecker, a Redemptorist father, made an attempt at developing a sort of Modernism which was suppressed. It would seem as though in these latter days the disciples of Harnack, Loisy, and Eucken were forming themselves into definite schools of thought,



and the increasing publication of liberal reviews such as "The Hibbert Journal," "Coenobium," and "The Modern Churchman" suggests that these schools are becoming articulate. Whether the modernists of to-day will be driven into a state of separation is a matter of prophecy not of history.

**Austria.** In Austria a movement began in 1899 to which the title "Los von Rom" properly belongs. It does not seek to create new sects, but merely to emancipate congregations from the Papal Supremacy and to strengthen existing Protestantism.

**Miscellaneous Bodies.** I propose to deal in conclusion with the sect-phenomena of Scotland, Ireland, America and Russia. But before passing on to them I must dispose of some miscellaneous movements which have escaped our classification.

**Cookites.** Charles Cook, the so-called "Wesley of the continent," worked as an evangelist during the nineteenth century, and organised various small societies which either joined the reformed churches or remained independent.

**Lutheran Schisms.** These reformed churches themselves became the subject of numerous reformations. In Germany an effort headed by the King of Prussia at an Evangelical Union of Prussian Churches in 1821 led to the

secession of the Old Lutherans, who refused to enter into communion with the Calvinists. In 1841 this was constituted as the Lutheran Free Church. From 1861 to 1904 it was divided into two over a question of church-government.

**Swiss Free  
Churches.**

In Switzerland the cantons of Basel and Zürich declared in 1883 that baptism was no longer a necessary condition of membership in the Established Protestant Church, and this and other liberalising tendencies led to some conservative secessions. There are flourishing free churches in French Switzerland, in Geneva, Vaud and Neuchâtel.

**Quaker  
Schisms.**

The Quakers were divided in 1692 by George Keith, who founded the Keithites, or Christian Friends. He was denounced and excommunicated by Penn in 1695, joined the Anglican Church, and died Vicar of Edburton in Sussex. He was a great scholar. There was a further separation from the Quakers in 1827, known as the Hicksite schism, and a little later came the Wilburite and Gurneyite movements, also resulting in schisms.

In Norway, a farmer called Hauge **Norway.** (1796-1824) protested against the rationalism of the clergy, and travelled about preaching after the manner of Wesley. The government fined and imprisoned him, but a large number of his lay preachers continued his work.

**Sweden.** In Sweden from 1803 onwards there existed a pietist body who received the name of the Läsare, or Readers, because they preferred to read the Bible and Luther's writings at home rather than to attend the worship of the "high and dry" Established Church.

**Denmark.** In Denmark there were similar divisions. Nicholas Grundtvig (1783-1872) sought to do away with Lutheranism, and to revert to Apostolic Christianity. He declared that the old Scandinavian mythology was a preparation for the Gospel, that baptism was no longer compulsory, and that a body of not less than twenty householders might form a religious society, with power to elect their own minister. Grundtvig was a deeply religious man, and his influence spread into Norway and Sweden. Another Danish sect of the nineteenth century is that of the Bornholmers, who laid great stress on the free and unmerited grace of God in Christ.

**Judaists.** Israel Pick, a converted Jew, retained much of his Judaism, and in 1854 founded a tiny sect called the Amenians, at München-Gladbach. In 1859 he went to the Holy Land in search of a place of settlement for his followers, and was never heard of again. A somewhat similar, though decidedly insane enthusiast, was the Austrian Chiliast Poeschl, who

died in 1837. He was a Romanist by training, but laid great emphasis on the conversion of the Jews and the foundation of a Judaeo-Catholic Church.

**Holland.** In 1875 a certain Kohlbrügge founded the first Dutch Reformed Church as a secession from the Lutheran Church in Holland, which he held to be in apostacy from Luther.

**Nazarenes.** Jacob Wriz, of Basel (1778-1858), founded a mystical sect called the Nazarenes. It was not linked up with any other movement, and has long ceased to be of any importance. The same title was adopted by a curious recrudescence of Anabaptism which occurred in Hungary in 1845, and has now some fifteen thousand adherents.

**Prezigerians.** The Prezigerians were founded in Wurtemberg and Baden between 1751 and 1824. They were at one time antinomian, but have gradually become Lutheran. About eighty of their communities still exist. From their fervent and ecstatic behaviour they have been nicknamed Juch-he-Christen and Galopp-Christen.

**Horning.** Friedrich Horning (1809-1882) was a keen champion of Lutheranism in Strasburg. He formed a distinct congregation and held it in strict discipline till his death.

**Spanish Sects.** In Spain there have been several anti-Roman movements. Protestantism ceased to be a civil offence after 1869, and the various scattered bodies attempted to unite under an ex-Roman priest, Cabrera, who found a warm supporter in Lord Plunket, Anglican Archbishop of Dublin. In 1894 he, together with two other Irish bishops, consecrated Cabrera as bishop of the "Iglesia Española." This was intended to be regarded not as a branch of the Anglican Church, but as a Reformed branch of the ancient Spanish Church, and in drawing up its vernacular prayerbook the promoters of the scheme drew freely from the ancient Mozarabic liturgy.

There is also a Reformed Spanish community in Lusitania.

A remarkable Spanish Protestant was the strolling player Francisco de Paula Ruet (1826-1878), who, in 1841, abandoned Romanism for Waldensianism at Turin, and became a minister of that sect. He returned to Barcelona and preached there, but was cited by its Bishop and after imprisonment banished in 1856. He then worked at Gibraltar until the foundation of the Spanish Protestant Church at Madrid.

**Agapemonites.** An infamous modern English sect is that of the Agapemonites, who built for themselves a noble church on Clapton

Common. Their founder, Prince, was succeeded by an Anglican clergyman named Piggott, who was convicted of immorality and unfrocked in the early years of the present century.

**Anglican  
Monastic  
Orders.**

Tractarianism led inevitably to the revival of the monastic life within the Anglican Church, but the separatist tendency has hitherto manifested itself in only one of the new orders, that of St. Paul, which, though small, has in its time done good work among seamen.\*

**The  
Brotherhood  
Movement.**

The Brotherhood movement in England and America has taken on a sectarian form by its segregation of the men from the women and its conduct of a public unconventional afternoon service in some hall distinct from the Church or Chapel. Originally a missionary effort to reach the male sex, it has become very highly organised, and the various local brotherhoods have begun to federate themselves to a centre. It is decidedly *not* ascetic, yet it has encouraged the men to worship apart from their wives. Closely akin to it is the Adult School Movement, instituted by the Friends. The standard of the latter, however, is much higher. The meetings are held early on Sunday mornings, and the intellectual level is decidedly good.

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\* It appears, however, that Archbishop Benson found some of the Sisterhoods drifting into separation.



Scottish sect-phenomena deserve separate treatment. The chief feature of Scottish Christianity is the earnestness with which it has sought to be independent of the State. The phrase, "the crown-rights of the Lord Jesus," has become proverbial. The first Covenant was signed in 1557, setting up the Reformed Kirk or "Congregation of Jesus Christ" as against the "Congregation of Satan," another name for Rome. James I. tried to restore Episcopacy, and partially succeeded; but the revived Church was without a liturgy, and when in 1636 one was produced, and read for the first time in Edinburgh, a riot ensued, which ended in the signing of the second or Great Covenant. Charles I. tried to reduce the malcontents by force, an effort which cost him his life. The Covenanters, however, in this case, changed one master for another, for as soon as Cromwell became supreme in Scotland he refused to allow the Kirk to "overtop the civil power,"\* and in 1653 Colonel Coterel dispersed the General Assembly. The Kirk did not recover even the shadow of its authority for many years.

The Restoration was accompanied by a persecution of the Covenanters, whose religion was regarded by Charles II. as "not a religion for gentlemen."

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\* Cromwell's letters, in Carlyle and Collin.

The Protestant Revolution of 1688 brought them uppermost again, and branded the Episcopalians definitely as Jacobites, to be persecuted with the utmost rigour. In 1690 the Scottish Parliament restored the Kirk, with the proviso that the Lord High Commissioner should be present at the meetings of ecclesiastical assemblies, and share with the Moderator the power of convoking and dissolving them. Jacobite feeling slowly died down, and the Episcopalian clergy gradually consented to pray for King George, but the penal laws against them were only repealed with some difficulty in 1792, and even then there were curious schisms between Anglican, Anglo-Irish, and Scottish congregations in the Episcopal Church, and Scottish orders were not admitted as a qualification for English preferment until a much later date.

The seventeenth century ended in a wild witch and heresy hunt, in which a crowd of miserable old women suffered, and one youth of eighteen was hanged.

From 1712 to 1843 the question of the right of presentation to the cure of souls agitated the Presbyterian Kirk. Ebenezer Erskine and his followers seceded and formed the Associate Presbytery or "Seceders," who held that the congregation had absolute right to choose the minister. These were soon divided, over the question of taking the Burghers' oath of

**Secessions from  
the Kirk.**

allegiance, into Burghers and anti-Burghers. In 1761 another body seceded over questions of patronage, and called itself the Presbytery of Relief. After further divisions had ensued, accompanied by much discussion, the Secession and Relief Churches joined in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church. In the meantime the main body of the Established Kirk became divided into two schools, the Evangelicals and Moderates, and a struggle was waged not merely on questions of patronage and secular authority, but upon larger matters of earnestness and piety, in both of which qualities the Moderates were declared to be lacking. In 1843 the best clergy, 451 out of 752, seceded under the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, and formed the Free Church of Scotland. This was an intensely popular movement, and the conscientious feeling which actuated it has been justly admired. In 1903 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church formed a union under the title of the United Free Church of Scotland. A small minority of the Free Church clergy refused to recognise this step.

**Buchanites and Sandemanians.** It must not be supposed that all the divisions in Scotland were so deeply and admirably concerned with matters of principle. The Buchanites, for example, or followers of Elspeth Buchan, a strange and wilful woman, regarded her as their "spiritual mother," and held fantastic doctrines; while an

exaggerated type of Congregationalism appeared in the Sandemanians (1730), followers of one John Glas, who laid great emphasis upon the Lord's Supper, feet-washing, the kiss of charity, and community of goods. They forbade all games of chance, the eating of blood and things strangled, and the use of the lot. The possibility of outgrowing the older and fiercer Calvinism has been the cause of many doctrinal divisions, and theological disputation has been a notable characteristic of Scottish religion. Its sternness and harshness, only perhaps to be compared with that of Spanish Christianity, must not blind us to the intense sincerity of its adherents. It has produced many splendid types of men and women, and not a few saints. Puritanism in Scotland has latterly seemed to be on the decline. It remains to be seen whether the Scotch can retain their piety and devotion without it.

**Irish Sect-  
Phenomena.**

Irish sect-phenomena will not detain us long. They are the fruit of racial differences. Ireland seems to have been first evangelised by Patrick or Succat (d. 461). After a period of independent development it came some three hundred years later into conformity with the See of Rome. About the year 1170 there was a considerable invasion of Norman-English, who settled in the district around Dublin known as "the Pale." In the sixteenth century Ireland was expected to fall into line with the

English Reformation. This the Irish, however, were very unwilling to do, and the Pope and the Spaniards aided and encouraged them in their adherence to the old unreformed Christianity. The results were perfectly deplorable. The Government retained the churches and vicarages in the hands of the Reformed Church, but they could not force the people to support them or their ministers. The latter were often unable to speak Erse, and were completely outnumbered by the Roman clergy. Strafford's policy of 1635 only evoked a rebellion and a massacre of the English. The Scottish colonists, who had settled in the north by the invitation of James I., joined with the Parliament in endeavours to establish Presbyterianism. Baptists and Independents were also introduced. Under Charles II. things were a little better, owing to the wise administration of Archbishop Bramhall. Under James II. the Romanists gained the ascendancy and persecuted the Protestants. Under William III. exactly the opposite took place, and the severest penal laws were enacted against the old believers. The treatment of the country in the eighteenth century was disgraceful, almost all the bishops being political appointments. In 1801 came the Union, followed in 1869 by the disestablishment and disendowment of the Reformed Church. The adherents of the latter are now chiefly the Scottish settlers of Ulster; the Anglo-Irish of the East coast and the Pale; and the descendants

of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy and English planters, who are the land-owning class, scattered up and down the country. Presbyterianism is strong in the North. In 1727 the Synod of Antrim became Socinian and seceded. There was a further Socinian schism in 1827. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland is now united, and very friendly towards the Reformed Episcopal Church.

**American Sect-Phenomena.** A volume in itself might be written upon American sect-phenomena. The land of great enterprises and of pure Protestantism, we are not surprised to find it displaying denominationalism on a huge scale. Individualism in religion seems to have run in mad riot over its spacious provinces. Be it remembered, however, in justice, that from the New World have come in recent years the strongest calls to reunion. If America infects the old civilisation with some of its worst diseases, she is also ready in the case of one to provide the remedy.

The Constitution of 1787, as far as the Federal law of the States was concerned, gave absolute freedom to every form of religious organization. Nevertheless the State is not only decidedly religious, but even definitely Christian. Religion in each State has had its own history. In the majority of cases before 1776 a Puritan establishment existed, except in the southern States, where Anglicanism was the State religion, and in Maryland, Rhode Island and



Pennsylvania (Roman, Baptist and Quaker States respectively), where toleration seems to have prevailed from the first.

**Rome.** Roman Catholicism is professed by about one-ninth of the whole population. With the exception of one tiny community already referred to, it is singularly united, but cannot be said to be specially subservient to the Ultramontane view of the Papacy.

**Anglicanism.** Anglicanism divided in 1873 on account of a united communion of the Evangelical Alliance, in which an American bishop\* took part. Tractarian Americans protested against this, and the offending bishop and his supporters then seceded. They were only a small body, but have since increased greatly, and have now congregations in all the chief cities of the United States.

**Eastern Church.** The Eastern Church is represented by a comparatively small community.

**Unitarianism.** By far the most important denominations in the United States are the Unitarians and Methodists. Unitarianism dates from the sixteenth century, and is perhaps even older, and in some respects akin to the doctrine of the Anomoean Arians and Adoptianists. In its post-Reformation form it was known as Socinianism and originated in Poland, in connection with Laelius and

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\* G. D. Cummins.

Faustus Socinus. At first it was content to accept the authority of Scripture, and merely to maintain that the Deity of Christ was incompatible with the unity of God, but in later times it has developed in two directions. On the one hand the critical study of the Scriptures has overthrown for all Liberals the ancient authority of Holy Writ, and has led some to look for the final revelation in the future rather than in the past, or at any rate to regard human religious experience as progressive and not necessarily richer in the first than in the twentieth century. On the other hand, the vast mass of those who call themselves Liberal Christians hold that Christ is the highest expression of the Divine in humanity. This attitude is immensely prevalent among Protestant Christians throughout Europe and America. It was dubbed by Professor Sanday "reduced Christianity," and in so far as it is sincerely and devoutly held, deserves the respect even of those who feel that it is not a sufficient explanation of the facts as we have them. In the latter half of the eighteenth century Dr. Priestley, the famous scientist, openly maintained the humanitarian view of Christ's nature. In 1773, Theophilus Lindsey, a Cambridge man of some importance, founded the Essex Street Chapel, which in London became for many years the centre of Unitarianism. Up to 1813 it was a penal offence to deny the Deity of Christ, although the penalties were not enforced. A more recent Liberal Christian

movement has been that initiated by Mr. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, which at one time seemed as though it would rend the Free Churches in twain. It has, however, settled down to the position of a recognised school of thought within them. Unitarianism in America as well as in England developed out of Puritan Calvinism, and during the first half of the nineteenth century assumed the Liberal Christian form owing to the rise of two sects, the followers of William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) and Theodore Parker (1810-1860). Both these men seem to have taught the same type of Christology as Professor Adolf Harnack. At the present day American Unitarians are consciously or unconsciously disciples of the one or the other. They are powerful all through the States, but especially in Massachusetts and at Boston, and their influence is paramount in Harvard University.

**Methodism.** The Methodists are represented by most of the sects which prevail in Europe, but various minor bodies have arisen as well.

The Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, 1813.

The Congregational Methodists, 1856.

The Zion Union Apostolic Church, 1869.

The New Congregational Methodists, 1881.

The Evangelist Missionary Church, 1886.

Some of them have adopted episcopacy as a form of government, some have not.

The very large coloured element in the American population is chiefly Methodist,\* on account of the appeal of emotionalism to the African temperament, but coloured congregations are also found among the other denominations. There are said to be fifty-two negro sects in all, and the number is probably greater. The most remarkable is that known as the Church of God and Saints in Christ (popularly "The Black Jews.") It was founded in 1897 by Mr. Crowdy, a seventh-day adventist, and has only a membership of eight or nine thousand, but makes up for its smallness by its eccentricity. The negroes believe themselves to be in some way the successors of the ancient Chosen People, and their Christianity is frankly and crudely Judaistic. Their centre is at Topeka in Kansas.

**Congregationalists.** Congregationalism, or Independency, flourishes in America even better than in England. The freedom it permits to each individual congregation saves it from schisms, and it gives great importance to the ministry of the laity. It is probably more liberal than any of the other Free Churches, except the

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\* About one-fourth of the whole Methodist community. The Colour question is also acute in India and South Africa.

Unitarian, and many of its leaders are closely akin to those members of the latter body who prefer the title "Liberal Christian."

**Baptists.** American Baptists are divided into :

United Baptists.

Separate Baptists.

Primitive Baptists (sometimes known as the Hard Shell and Anti-Mission Baptists).

Six Principle Baptists.

Free-Will Baptists.

Original Free-Will Baptists.

Old two-seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists.\*

Dunkers.

River Brethren.

Disciples of Christ. W. Pennsylvania, 1809.

The Dunkers are a sect of immersionists founded in 1708 in Europe, who emigrated to America in 1719. Since 1882 they have been divided into three branches, the Conservatives, the Progressives, and the Old Order Brethren.

**Mennonites.** The River Brethren, as indeed all the Baptists, are closely related to the Mennonites. In 1770, Jacob Engel, of Basel, came to Pennsylvania and brought with him thirty Mennonite families. Through practising baptism in the

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\* See p. 68.

Susquehanna River they came to be known as "Brethren by the River." They have no formulated creed, and are a sect rather from tradition and history than on principle. In 1843 the Yonker Brethren seceded from them, and in 1852 the "Brinsers" or United Zion's Children.

The American Mennonites themselves are divided into the :

Old Mennonites.

General Conference Mennonites.

Mennonite Brethren in Christ.

Mennoniten Brüdergemeinde (a racial variety of the preceding one).

Reformed Mennonites.

Old Order Amish Brethren (1690).

Hutterites (1586).

Old Colony Churches.

Old Swiss.

Conservative Amish Mennonites.

Independent Mennonites.

Defenceless Mennonites (1866).

**Christa-  
delphians.** The Christadelphians seceded from the Disciples of Christ in 1850, under the leadership of John Thorn, a physician. They reject the doctrine of the Trinity, are millenarians, and have no ordained ministry. Akin to the Disciples of Christ are the Churches of Christ, loosely federated communities of Evangelical Christians.



**Adventists.** The Adventists were founded by a Baptist, William Miller, in 1831. After 1843 they abandoned the hope of definitely predicting the Parousia. With due allowance for stress upon Christ's second coming, they greatly resemble the body from which they sprang. They are, however, sub-divided into the

Evangelical Adventists (1855).

The Advent Christian Church.

The Life and Advent Union (1864).

The Age-to-come Adventists (1888).

The Seventh-day Adventists are the largest body. They tend to observe the ancient sabbath, and have a separate origin. The Millennium Adventists were founded by Pastor Russell in Alleghany in 1901. Their European propaganda is known as the Watch-tower and Bible Tract Society. Their teaching is a mixture of ancient Millenarianism and Unitarian-Rationalist doctrine.

**Separates.** The Separates were an American Calvinistic Methodist sect, founded in 1750 by the followers of John Whitfield. In 1751 they were absorbed into the Baptist body.

**Friends.** The Friends of North America have changed much since the days when they were proscribed fanatics, whipped naked at the tail-board of a cart. They are a sober, prosperous, and influential community. Elias Hicks, whose schism has already been referred to, was a

Rationalist who held that Christ was a natural man but uniquely filled with the Spirit; in other words: "Jesus was the first Friend." A reaction against this produced the "Evangelical Friends," who insisted that all manifestations of the inner light to individuals must be tried by the standard of scriptural revelation.

**Shakers of  
New Lebanon.** The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Coming was another Adventist community founded in 1705 by an Englishwoman, Ann Lee, who apparently gained her impulse from a small sect at Bolton in Lancashire. The latter in its turn had originated from a French movement in the Cevennes, some members of which had come to England as refugees. Ann Lee was persecuted in England, and in 1774 went to America with thirty of her followers. In six years several communities had been formed, commonly called "Shakers," from the convulsive quivering which accompanied their prayers. "Mother Ann," like Joanna Southcott, became a sort of sacrosanct person, and declared herself to be "the Bride, the Lamb's Wife," and the second Eve. The principal existing community is at New Lebanon, New York State. Its members are celibates of both sexes, and no charge of impurity has ever been brought against them. They are augmented by proselytes and orphan children, whom they educate. They cultivate medicinal herbs, and are

a very innocent people, whose public worship consists of music and song, dancing and making merry, followed by communion in silence, and a discourse.

**Christian Communism.** Christian Communism, although a very ancient and even primitive economic experiment, has found supporters in various centuries such as John Wyclif, and through him certain of the Hussites. In America a large number of communities have practised it with varying success. The earliest attempt was that of Pieter Corneliz Plockhoy (1600-1674). He interviewed Oliver Cromwell, and gained his patronage for a colony on the Delaware River. The British Government, however, afterwards treated him disgracefully, and persecuted with much brutality "the quaking society of Plockhoy." After the lapse of ten years, he and his wife suddenly appeared at a German township in Philadelphia. They were in great poverty, and Plockhoy himself had become totally blind. The citizens provided them with maintenance. The Separatists and Shakers have already been mentioned, and space does not allow of more than a list of other communities being given.

The Albinist Society.

The Adonai Shomo Adventists (1861-1891).

Now extinct.

The Amana Society. Iowa. (1843.)

The Holy Ghost and Us Society. (1893.)  
Massachusetts.\*

The Church Triumphant at Koresharitz in  
Florida.

The Ephrata Community.

The Harmony Society.

Icaria and New Icaria. French Communities.  
Non-Christian.

A word or two must however be said about the Perfectionists, or Oneida Community of 1845. They were founded by John Noyes, who after attending a revival meeting, studied the Bible seriously and felt moved to form a Biblical family of true believers, seeing that all Churches were of the devil. He did so, and after acquiring a fertile piece of land at Oneida, N.Y., erected a large house where he and his followers lived, having wives, children, and property in common. The experiment of course broke down; and Noyes issued a proclamation to the effect that although Perfectionists are above the law, yet it behoves them to submit to the influence of the whole family. On these grounds he proclaimed the restoration of monogamy.

The Mormons, or Latter-Day  
**Mormons.** Saints, have a most extraordinary  
history attached to them, which  
cannot, however, be here related in detail. It

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\* This sect is waning. Its founder claimed to be Elijah. It is strongly millenarian in its beliefs.

would seem that their origin is almost entirely due to the fraudulent publication of a piece of fiction known as the Book of Mormon by a certain Joseph Smith, of Vermont, in 1830. In 1826 Smith had been convicted of a criminal offence, which casts doubts upon his pretensions to inspiration. Suffice it to say that he and his followers claimed descent from a portion of the Ten Tribes of Israel, and after various adventures, in which they were several times accused of immorality, settled under a new leader of great ability, Brigham Young, at the Great Salt Lake in Utah. Mormonism appears to be Christian, but closer enquiry reveals great materialism, the first person of the Trinity having, according to its tenets, a body of flesh and bones. Smith's followers developed a polytheistic system. Polygamy was avowed in 1852, and outwardly abandoned in 1890, but it is believed to be still secretly practised. The Mormons appear to be a very prosperous people, and although they have schisms of their own, hold together as a community. Recent literature suggests that the strange transactions with which they began their existence were successful on account of economic pressure leading to land-hunger in certain American centres of population.

**Christian  
Scientists.**

The Christian Science movement owes its rise to a hypnotist named Phineas P. Quimby, who in 1862, by means of faith-healing processes, cured of a serious

disease a woman afterwards famous as Mary Baker Eddy. It is said that whatever is true in her teaching can be traced to her benefactor. She published a sacred book in 1879 and opened a meeting house at Boston. She taught that evil had no existence: the only real existence is God. Whoever, therefore, lives in God recognises the true nothingness of evil and so is freed from it, and is also able to heal others. Much truth can be recognised in this, although Mrs. Eddy has encumbered it with many extravagances. Numerous Faith-Health movements have since sprung into existence, such as the Society of Emmanuel, and the Society of Higher Thought.

A miscellaneous list of unclassified  
**Miscellaneous** American sects may be given in  
**Sects.** conclusion. The Church of the Living  
 God, Indianapolis, 1894.

Various national and racial reformed churches, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, German Reformed Church and Hungarian Reformed Church in America. (From the first of these the "True Holland Reformed Church" seceded in 1857 in Michigan.)

The Stefanists, or followers of Martin Stefan, a High Church Lutheran who seceded from his church in Germany with 700 followers and settled in Missouri in 1838.

The Apostolic Christian Church, 1850.



The Christian Israelites, who are Judaists and Anglo-Israelites, and were founded in 1822 by John Wise, of Bowling, in Yorkshire.

The Duck River Association of Calvinistic Baptists, 1808.

The Church of Daniel's Band, 1893.

The Hephzibah Faith Missionary Association.

The International Apostolic Holiness Union.

The Heavenly Recruit Association.

The United Coloured American Free-Will Baptists.

**Free Church Missions.** American Free Church Missions have influenced the formation of Free Church communities among some of the older peoples of Christendom. Thus the Evangelical Armenians arose in this way between 1852 and 1854, and in 1911 a Greek Protestant from America, Michael Kalopothakes, went to evangelise Athens and died there. American Presbyterians are at work among the Nestorian Christians of Kurdistan.

**Russian Sect-Phenomena.** I have left the Russian sects to the last, because, being Slavonic, they stand somewhat apart. They fall into three main divisions, one of old, and two of new dissenters.

**Early Christianity in Russia.** Christianity existed in Russia as far back as the ninth century; but after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the primacy possessed by that city passed to Moscow, and Russia became the

most important part of the Holy Orthodox Church, and the protector of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The Federation of National Churches is a marked feature of Orthodox Christianity. Thus the National Churches of Cyprus, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Servia (very independent), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (under Austrian protection) are self-governing. The act of federation consists in sending the holy oil or Chrism from Constantinople to a branch Church. In more recent times efforts have been made by Rome to create Uniat Churches among these Eastern bodies. A certain amount of schism and disagreement has naturally ensued, and the Uniat Churches are much more subservient to the Papacy than they ever were to the patriarch of Constantinople.

**I. Old Dis-  
senters, or  
Raskolniks.**

Russian Nonconformity proper dates from 1653, when the celebrated Nikon was made patriarch of Moscow. Nikon was essentially a strong man and a reformer, and under his rule the Slavonic version of the Bible and all the service-books of the Church were thoroughly revised, while several simplifications in ritual were introduced. The Conservatism of the Russian people fiercely resented these innovations,\* and there was a large secession

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\* See the principles of this schism thoroughly dealt with by Prof. V. O. Kluchevsky in his "History of Russia." J. M. Dent, 1913.

of "Old Believers," or Staroviery, who, as may be imagined, tended towards Ritualism rather than Protestantism. They received a considerable addition to their numbers from the opponents of the Westernising reforms of Peter the Great. In fact the old Dissenters of Russia are deeply nationalist and fervently orthodox.

Further sub-divisions followed. The Raskolniks, or Schismatics, fell into two classes. The Popofsky, or "Priest-People," like the English Non-Jurors, depended for their sacraments upon the schismatic clergy. But the Bef-popofsky, or "No Priest People," said that schismatic clergy were abominable, and that the Popofsky had obtained their succession through a deposed Bosnian Bishop, living in Austria. They therefore organised a church with no sacraments at all, save that of baptism, which a layman could administer, and behaved as though they were under an interdict. Fanatics caricatured the situation. The "Gapers" stood with their mouths open on Maundy Thursday, waiting for the heavenly manna to descend.

But this was not the worst. Marriage itself was a sacrament, and since no clergy were available, no marriages could take place. What was to be done? Some treated the situation as an excuse for illicit connections. Others became celibates. One sect, the Philippofsky, sought redemption by suicide. Some, in a frenzy of despair, killed one another with

clubs. Others fled and buried themselves in the forest till the Tsar ordered their refuges to be destroyed in 1850. The Iskaleli Krista, or Christ-seekers, went so far as to treat the Tsar's government as Anti-Christ, and to venerate the image of Napoleon. The Stranniki, or Runners, refused to have any fixed abode. The Theodosians would not eat or drink with the profane.

As time went on various emotional extravagances began to appear. The Skakuni danced themselves into delirium at their meetings. The Khlüsten worshipped an unmarried woman as the future mother of the Christ-child. The Skoptsen\* mutilated themselves either before or after marriage, and their eunuchs were credited with divine inspiration.

None of these peculiar bodies can be treated as inheritors of the Christian tradition in any complete way. They are obviously the product of pathological conditions in the corporate religious life, aided by lack of education and consequent superstition. Nevertheless the more moderate Raskolniks exist in some numbers even to-day.

**II. New Dis-**  
**senters. 1st**  
**class (a)**  
**Molokans.**

Of the first-class of new dissenters there are two sorts, the Molokans, who may be described as Biblicists, and the Doukhobors† who are akin to the Quakers. Both these bodies reject all the characteristic

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\* Eunuchs.

† The name means "Spirit-wrestlers."

forms of Russian worship, and are closely related to the Free Church folk of the west. It is believed that the Molokans arose in the sixteenth century under Ivan the Terrible, through the influence of an English doctor. The Doukhobors (b) **Doukhobors.** may possibly inherit some of the early Protestantism of the Bogomils and Paulicians. Their first definitely known teacher was a soldier who appeared at a village in the Ukraine about 1740.

Russian dissenters have been severely\* persecuted until quite recent times, and are even now under disabilities, largely owing to the nationalism of Russian Orthodoxy, which makes dissent a political offence. In 1840, Nicholas ordered both Molokans and Doukhobors to return to the Holy Orthodox faith. On their refusal he ordered them to be transported to the Caucasus, where the Molokans are now a prosperous and happy community. The Doukhobors were granted land near the Sea of Azov. They were unhappily divided in 1886, and the lawsuit which followed ended in the banishment of the defeated party to Siberia. They have a strong objection to military service, and many have emigrated in consequence to Canada.

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\* As late as 1797 the Doukhobors were beaten with the knout, slit in their noses, imprisoned in small cells, and condemned to hard labour.

**New Dissenters.****2nd Class.**

The second class of new dissenters consists of the Stundists, who originated under the influence of a German colony at Odessa, and the followers of Count Tolstoi. The former are numerous in the South of Russia, and take their name from the Stunde or hour of bible-reading and prayer of which their public worship consists. They are sub-divided, according to a German authority, into Spiritual Stundists or Stundo-Paschowianer; and the Stundo-Baptisten, who are in point of fact Baptists. The Stundists are communistic in their social ideals. Gregor Alexinsky, ex-President of the Duma, in his recent work on Modern Russia, notes the rise of two new bodies, the Bratzy, or "little brothers," and the Startzy, or "aged." The former work chiefly among the outcasts and lesser bourgeoisie and seem to resemble the Franciscans in their teaching. The latter are free preachers who have achieved an enormous success in the upper strata of society, especially among the women. Count Tolstoi's influence has led rather to the formation of a party or school of thought than of an organized sect. His uncompromising teaching with its literal insistence upon the New Testament ideals is well-known, and widely respected even by those who think it lacking in judgement.\*

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\* I was interested some years ago to find a Russian Jew tradesman who had been converted to a species of Christianity by Tolstoi's writings.



Other small and unimportant sects are those of the Jehovahists, the revived Bogomils, the Sjutajefsky, the Wosdukanzy, the Dunkasvertrauen, the Belorisky (or white-robed ones) and the Jenochftsky, or People of Enoch.

**General Remarks.** The Russian Nonconformists are very worthy folk for the most part, and the Molokans and Doukhobors have been described as the very salt of the earth. An exact computation of their numbers is difficult, since many of them still fear petty persecution and are unwilling to declare themselves, but a recent estimate gives the following results :—

|                                |             |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Total population of Russia ... | 125,000,000 |
| Non-Christians ... ..          | 19,000,000  |
| Roman Catholics ... ..         | 11,000,000  |
| Orthodox ... ..                | 87,000,000  |
| Lutherans ... ..               | 3,000,000   |
| Armenians ... ..               | 1,000,000   |

and in addition, smaller bodies of foreign sects, such as Mennonites, etc.

This only leaves four million purely Russian sectaries, but it is certain that of the 87 million, at least nine or ten million are afraid to declare their nonconformity.

**Conclusion.** I am afraid that this survey of Christian disruption will have taxed the patience of the reader by reason of its length, and the heavy catalogue of sects which it has given

him. In defence I must urge that I have tried to give the impression that the Church is, what I firmly believe it to be, a great organism growing or developing, and in the process throwing out side-tracks, branches, ramifications, groups of cells, differentiations of species, or whatever else it may seem fit to call them: in fact a great organism intensely alive. We may compare it to a gigantic coral-tree. Some groups of cells are more closely united and more uniform in pattern than others. Some are diseased. Some show "sports" or exaggerations. Some are only loosely connected with the parent stem. Some show a tendency to ignore development and revert to a primitive type. Some seem to suffer from a tendency to hypertrophy. Some are merely ephemeral, developing rapidly and as rapidly melting away or decaying. Some are crippled, moribund, and even dead. To change the simile slightly, if we believe that our Lord said "I am the Vine, ye are the branches" then we cannot fail to believe that Christ will only be fully manifested to the world through the whole Vine which is the total organism.\* The full revelation of God in Christ is the sum-total of the revelation given by the various branches of the disciples of Christ. But that revelation cannot be

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\* See Dr. Knight (Bishop of Gibraltar), Commentary on Colossians, p. 152, and the Dean of Wells on Ephesians.

given until the total organism is working in harmony, each part properly in sympathy with its fellow.

The friction which has attended the development of the Church-organism is no doubt due to sin, but is not confined to religious differentiation. Schisms in families and friction between young and old are often due to development misunderstood or obstructed. They may also be due to excessive development which is in process of being corrected. The ideal family is not that in which the members either remain irresponsible and subservient children, or else split off and cease to be on speaking terms or continually quarrel. It is that in which the members develop their own life; and yet have an intelligent loyalty to a common centre, and a loving tolerance of one another's individual personalities, retaining enough uniformity for common action, the maintenance of continuity in family ideals and traditions, and that mutual intercourse which makes members of large families so full of a happy *savoir-faire*, sanity of judgement, and wholesomeness of outlook.

With the above three similes I must bring this long chapter to a close. In the third I hope to deal with the opposite tendency to disruption, with the gradual triumph of the Christ-spirit, the growth of harmony, and the distinction between true and false unity.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CHRISTIAN REUNION, FROM ALEXANDRIA TO KIKUYU.

**Disruption—as  
Life.** The spectacle presented to the reader in the last chapter must, I fear, have seemed unsatisfactory. The innumerable concourse of bodies claiming the Christian name is depressing as well as bewildering. I have tried to counteract that impression by laying emphasis upon the exuberant life of the great Christian organism; for it is undeniable that the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, together with countless human spirits, has produced myriad forms of cells. Undeniable, that is to say, if we accept the definition of the Church which has already been propounded. Another way of putting the case is to say, with Mr. Arthur Lloyd,\* that the Incarnation was a great splash involving many ripples, eastward as well as westward. It shook and influenced the older religious systems, which of course tried to effect treaties or compromises with it. Following upon this attempt came superstition, lack of education and of knowledge about what other folk were doing and thinking, the use of isolated and untempered private judgement, unscientific views of the world,

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\* "The Creed of Half Japan."

quarrels, political complications, conflicts of temperament, together with zeal for reform and improvement, and a genuine development in the appreciation and realisation of foundation truths. These things have differentiated Christian believers, as they have in their time differentiated the believers

**Disruption—as a Phase in Development.** in other religions, great and small. The differentiation as a phase was inevitable, but only as a phase. In

like manner the differentiation of human species and of classes in human society was inevitable as a phase. Nor does it follow that on the lines of Gibbon's famous summary, all the differentiations taken by themselves alone are equally true, equally false, or equally useful.

**The Present Position.**

As it stands at present, the great Christian organism seems to show four broad divisions. The Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox are the first two, and the various Free Churches with more or less stable constitutions form a fourth. In between them, holding a kind of middle course, lies the Anglican Communion, and around the four are grouped an ever-shifting and unstable aggregate of looser bodies.

**An Objection.**

At this point I must pause to notice an objection, which, if it could be established, would overthrow the whole of my argument. This objection is as follows:—

"If according to your thesis Christianity arose at a particular period in the history of this planet, in a sort of classic century when the preparation for it was complete and 'the end of the ages' had descended upon mankind, why should you object to the thesis being also maintained that its classic expression also descended upon the world at a definite period, and that a form of it exists which in human experience is more fitted to be the universal social expression of religion than any other?"

**And its Answer.** I admit that this is a formidable objection, but there are several remarks which I should like to make about it.

1. The analogy of the development of races or breeds of men will not hold. The Christian organism is only two thousand years old, and a much longer period was necessary for the development of the higher races of mankind. If time be any criterion then the classic expression of Christianity need not be given to the world for another two thousand years.

2. In point of fact, there is no form of Christianity which is everywhere overwhelmingly superior to all others. This is borne out by the four-fold division given above. Even the ubiquitous Roman Catholic Church does not show great purity of doctrine, and is losing quite as much as it gains.



3. It is conceivable that among the existing forms of Christianity there may be one which in the future is destined to be dominant, but we do not know of it yet. It has not yet emerged into universal cognisance. How much more then do we need a new science of comparative Christianity, and a study of one another's institutions and beliefs.

4. As far as our present knowledge goes, it seems much more prudent to forecast the development of numerous classic forms, each suitable to different nationalities and races, with due allowance for sub-division according to temperaments, and a proper differentiation of functions and ministry among the members.

**Survey of the  
History of  
Reunion.**

Leaving theories, however, and passing to facts, I propose to consider the working out of the principle of social unity, which I laid down at the outset as the only essential thing in the organisation of the Christian Church. According to the mind of Christ there could be but One Father, One Society, One Gospel, One Aim and Loyalty. It was a principle which was hardly understood at the time. The Christ-principles had to run the way of all other pioneer religious truths. It is many centuries before we find them triumphing in all departments. Just at the moment, Christians themselves are perplexed at the triumph of these principles. We hardly recognise our own kith

and kin in the Pacificist, in the Internationalist, in the Labour-reformer with his championship of the cramped and depressed individual soul, whether teacher or laundry girl; in the Free-thinker, with his demand for sincerity and for the right to challenge tradition to test itself by scientific truth; in the writers of many modern plays and novels with their insistent demand that Love, as the Supreme Power in the world, shall have a right to rule men's lives, and not a stuffy legalism that is afraid to think, or to trust the divine spark that glows (faintly it may be) in the most degraded depths of a human soul. Nevertheless there have been witnesses to Our Lord's Divine principle of unity from the outset.

**In the New  
Testament.**

St. Paul is full of the idea. From the time he sets out on his first missionary journey from Antioch he is constantly returning to it. We find it in all his letters. Although a Roman citizen and a Pharisee of the Pharisees, he is willing to include barbarians, Scythians, and slaves in the Divine Society, and to give them an equal share in its spiritual privileges. In writing to Corinth he has nothing but condemnation for the persistency of divisions, yet he admits that "there must be heresies, that they which are approved among you may be made manifest.\*"

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\* I. Cor., xi., 10.

Apparently he regards divergences of opinion as an inevitable mark of progress. We shall discover the same idea in Origen later on. It is possible however that St. Paul may mean exactly the opposite, and that it is the sterling characters who stand firm. Greek life was full of partisanship and the sectarian spirit, and it may be that St. Paul regarded teachableness and the spirit of uniformity and docility as in every case preferable to independence. I do not think he did. True, throughout the New Testament, *αἵρεσις* is used in a depreciatory sense. Yet the divisions deprecated by St. Paul are rather those which arise out of personal quarrels and jealousy in which the sectaries "bit and devoured" one another.\*

When we come to the Pastoral Epistles and the sub-apostolic writings we find a new spirit entering in, and this spirit grows and remains dominant until almost our own day. If it be true that the Roman Empire with its magnificent organisation, embracing the whole of the Mediterranean world, inspired the Christians with the idea of a Catholic or Universal Church (and by good police, posts, roads, and communications rendered intercourse and Catholicism possible and expansion rapid); it is also true that it limited and cramped or rather hardened

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\* Even these St. Paul treats leniently in one case. Philipp., i., 16-18.

and stereotyped and fixed (by what has been called arrested development) the Christian idea of what the Catholic or Universal Church was destined to be.

It is true that the Roman Imperial system did allow a good deal of freedom for individual development to subject races. But the conception of an all-embracing uniformity seems to have been seized upon by the Christian Church and fanatically exaggerated.\*

**Its Develop-  
ment.**

Unity was certainly recognised as one of Christ's main purposes for the Church. The rash assumption (pardonable perhaps) followed, that the Roman imperial system was to provide the pattern for that unity, and the outline of the structure.

Clement argues about the authority of the apostles and elders as though they were proconsuls and Christ was Cæsar. The most vehement opponents of schism are men with the training and outlook of Roman lawyers. The Church takes on the basilica form. The Emperor patronises the new religion and regards it as sympathetic towards imperialism, just as jingo Imperialists do to-day. The Emperor even essays to preside at Councils of the Church. Heresy rapidly becomes synonymous with disloyalty when

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\* Mr. H. G. Wells hints at this in a recent novel when he writes somewhat irritably of his hero reflecting amid the ruins of the Forum that the Empire had "allied itself with the most intolerant and bickering element in the Church."

out of fashion. It is pronounced to be orthodoxy when it takes an agreeable and popular form, easy of credence. Conformity is ensured by military intimidation. Theodosius makes it practically a penal offence to be an Arian, and the North African Donatists (closely resembling many Free Churchmen of more recent times) who are impious enough to say "What in the world has the Emperor to do with the Church?" are denounced by the great prelate, Augustine, with his beautiful picture of the city of God, a real spiritual Roman Empire—Augustine who actually applies to heretics the words of Our Lord's parable and says "Compel them to come in."\* The Priscillianists in Spain are crushed by the decapitation of their leaders. When in 476 the Western Emperor for a time ceases to exist, his place is readily filled by the Bishop of Rome, who only revives the "Holy Roman Empire" by a delegation of temporal power in the year 800 to a German King.

In the East, at Constantinople, the form of religion in favour at the Imperial Court is usually treated by the populace as the orthodox faith for the time being. When the rift between parties or between east and west begins to widen, it is a succession of Emperors issuing mandatory epistles, Zeno with his *Henotikon*, Heraclius with his *Ecthesis*,

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\* In justice to Augustine it should be said that he disapproved of the execution of Priscillian.

Constantine IV. with his Type, who try to restore unity ; because it is part of their work to keep the Empire tidy. They quarrel naturally with the Pope, as being their rival. In 680 Constantine Pogonatus presides at the sixth general council of Constantinople, and anathematises the Pope and the Monothelites, and when he is absent, the presidential chair is significantly left vacant.

Missionary work is hindered outside the Empire because the ignorant belief is springing up that Christendom *is* the Empire. It is the Dissenters, Ulfilas the Arian (to the Goths), and the Nestorians (in the East) who carry on most of the missions. Professor Bury remarks that the mission of Ulfilas "was due to the hostilities which had brought Christian captives into Gothic territory, and not to the missionary enterprise of the Church."\* Right up to 313 A.D. the Mission to the Gentiles was in practice officially limited by the Church to the Roman world, and only private enterprise carried it outside. After 313 it was the Empire which urged on missionary work, and even then limited it save when it meant the increase of Roman supremacy. Christianity to the heathen Teutons was the religion of the Imperial Romans and had their prestige. Afterwards it became supreme in its own right, with the Roman prestige transferred to itself. The

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\* Bury, "St. Patrick, his Life and Times."



Italian mission of Augustine to England seems to have been undertaken rather with the object of bringing back an outlying Roman province into conformity with the Holy See. Latin Christianity is the religion of the old provincials, and their superior culture and organisation gradually impose it upon the barbarian invaders. Willibrord, it will be noticed, comes from Britain, and the Christianising of the Germans is partly a question of making heretics conform, partly a question of extending the Papal Supremacy to its natural European limits. Boniface is thoroughly Roman in spirit. The Holy Roman Emperors succeed for a time in providing a succession of German Popes.

Local varieties of Christianity are relentlessly crushed out. The East Syrian Church, partly in 210 under Palut, and completely in 411 under Rabbulas, is made to conform with the pattern of the Orthodox Eastern Church. The druidically-shaped tonsure, and other local features of British Christianity, are stamped on. According to Professor Bury, Ireland was in line with Rome under Patrick, and only developed eccentricities after his decease. It is soon brought back again, the South in 634, the North in 704. Iona comes in in 716, Strathclyde in 704, the North Welsh in 768, the South Welsh in 777, the North of England in 664. Although Gregory the Great, in his letter to Augustine, encourages him to preserve local usages, this

policy does not seem to have been observed by his successors.

The history of Medieval Europe, as is well known, shows a constant struggle of nationalities against the Papacy, whether it be of Gallicanism or Anglicanism. Of missionary work there is little. It is remarkable that the nearest approach to it occurs (up to about 1200) in the Crusades, which are organised after the manner of the Holy War undertaken by Constantine, when he claimed to have seen the cross in the sky, with the words "*in hoc signo vinces.*" The Friars, decidedly a dissenting movement, were the first medieval missionaries who went far a-field, and we may see in them the forerunners of Protestant Missionaries. The aim of the Franciscan Order was "to preach the Gospel to the enemies of Christ," and St. Francis himself went to the Moslems. The Pope seized hold of the movement for Imperialist reasons, and sent forth John of Pian Carpino eastward in 1245, and in 1289 John of Monte Corvino, who found a strong and unfriendly Nestorian community in China. Raymond Lull, a Spanish Franciscan of Mallorca, went as a missionary to the Moslems in 1301. He is an interesting personality, for his poems stand out as the best examples of Spanish medieval literature, and among his voluminous prose writings are to be found apologetic works in Arabic, and treatises on unity in faith and knowledge with so strong a rationalising

tendency that some have regarded them as heretical. He had a school of disciples known as the Lullists. Just before 1453 there was a futile papal effort to bring East and West together, which is related somewhat fully in Gibbon's last volume. The Spanish "conversion" of the New World is decidedly influenced by Islamic methods on the one hand and Latin Imperialism on the other.

**Nationalism.**

It would be quite easy to go on for an indefinite length showing how the spirit of Catholicity became identified with that of Romanism, or Latin Imperial Christianity.\* It is rather surprising to find this spirit turning at the Reformation into *nationalism*. With the disappearance of the horizontal for the vertical division in European society, and with the rise of nations, there came a splitting up of the Imperial spirit. "Cujus regio ejus religio" became the watch-word. Each state was transformed into an Empire in parvo. Plenty of instances can be given. The attitude of Elizabeth towards Puritans and Popish recusants. The divisions which led to the Thirty Years' War in Germany and the Wars of Religion in France. The rise of the Russian establishment.

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\* I am afraid that the Counter-Reformation made the Latin Church more unbending than ever. The elements of free-thought which she permitted in the middle ages were crushed out by the Tridentine decrees. Rome since then has out-Romanised Romanism.

The Spanish Inquisition. The amiable string of conformity statutes and penal laws of which the Test Act is a specimen. The behaviour of the Puritan establishment in each of the United States of America.\* "Give a dog a bad name" and it is easy to find occasion for hanging him. No doubt there was some ground for uneasiness, but many dissenters were disloyal because they were expected to be. Romanist disloyalty was due, of course, to the conflict between the two imperia, national and papal. Even to-day a feeling lurks in the minds of many that loyalty goes with the acceptance of the religious establishment, whatever that may be for the moment ; Deism, Free-masonry, Imperialism, Undenominationalism, Presbyterianism, or Anglicanism.

I hope enough has been written  
**True and False** above to show that this conception of  
**Unity.** unity is really a false one, at any rate  
 in the way it has usually been urged. The Roman Imperial world emphasised one idea and one only, the idea of œcumenical unity ; a unity international and without class, dependent upon the simple Christian sacramental system, with an official clergy to administer it.† The method by which this was

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\* With three exceptions. See p. 121.

† For the purest and crudest form of this idea we may turn to the Epistles of St. Ignatius. Mr. Hamilton in the second volume of his "People of God" has shown how easy it was for

to be achieved, and the scope of its practice and development, were entirely and utterly Latin and circumscribed.

It has been suggested\* that instead of an orchestra of divers instruments, playing in harmony, Latin Christianity demands a body of instruments, as much of the same pattern as possible, playing in unison. It is desirable, no doubt, that an orchestra should be able when occasion needs to play in unison; but harmony is at other seasons essential, unless the individual is to go under. May I add that curiously enough, Roman music generally is in unison?

The Dean of St. Paul's points out how magnificent is the organisation of Latin Christianity. But

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this to develop. The president had to break the bread. Someone had also to authorise celebrants for the Eucharist. The official clergy (as distinct from the charismatic) tend to have chiefly a *social* value. Witness the creation of laymen as bishops in the early church, Cyprian, Nectarius, Ambrose, Photius, and the present position of the parish Popes in Russia; also the position and character of the bishops in England to-day. The official clergy are, in fact, organs of social self-expression. They are necessary, and if they did not exist would have to be created. Wesleyans in part have gone back to episcopacy, in part have created "Superintendents." Congregationalists are agitating for the creation of officials who are to be bishops in all but name. A Presbyterian tells me of the need of a bishop at many Presbytery sessions. The danger of course to be guarded against is lest the official ministry should grow "clericalist" and lacking in holiness, leaving a monopoly of the latter to the charismatic ministry.

\* I owe this thought to the Rev. Hewlett Johnson.

"what in the world," he asks, "has it got to do with the Sermon on the Mount?" The only fault to be found with that remark is that it suggests (what I am sure Dr. Inge does not mean) that the Sermon on the Mount is the whole of Christianity. We must concede that the Roman genius for organisation has something to teach all who have to govern and administrate, and that the Papacy was used in the Providence of God as a pedagogue to bring the young Teutonic nations through childhood to their self-conscious maturity. Catholicism will always have something to teach Provincialism or Parochialism, for it is wider in experience of human nature and has a saner outlook upon the world.\* More than this I do not think we can fairly admit.

Yet the Latin spell hangs over the Anglican communion to-day. It influenced even Hooker, who, although he rightly recognized the impossibility of putting the clock back by reconstructing apostolic Christianity and ignoring development, nevertheless came too much under the glamour of legalism. The Latin spell influenced the great Pan-Anglican Congress. The dominant school of thought in the Anglican Communion is dazzled by it. It has invaded our Theological Colleges. Some of the correspondence which has centred round the Kikuyu episode has all the subtlety and hardness of the astute legalist.

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\* Sometimes, perhaps, a little too sane.



**The Survey  
Resumed.**

I do not wish to go nearer than this to present controversies. Having pointed the danger, let us go back.

It is clear, I think, that the realised conception of a truly Catholic Church must lie in the future, and that the form which sometimes appears so attractive is not the final form of its realisation. The Roman Church in the Colonies is simply a string of Irish national Churches, not very closely linked up with Rome. Roman success in the mission-field is illusory. Its organisation is undoubtedly magnificent, and in that respect it has much to teach us, but whether it can permanently keep its converts in leading-strings is another matter.\* With the

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\* The Jesuit Mission which was opened in Paraguay in 1580 is an instance. By the year 1700 it had the control of thirty-three garden cities in a territory about the size of Great Britain. The missionaries discovered india-rubber and cultivated quinine, and governed the country by means of a sort of Utopian despotism. All Europeans save the Jesuits were excluded, and the country was divided up into provinces, each under the government of two Jesuits, who like Plato's philosopher king supervised the welfare of the happy Indians. The civilisation of Europe was shut out. No money was allowed to be used except in the marriage ceremony, when it was guarded by the clergy. A certain limited amount of education was permitted, but the liberty of the Indians was strictly curtailed, as it was considered that they were not fit to exercise it. Industrial works were encouraged, and were entered upon with music and revelry as well as with devotion. This ideal republic lasted for about a century, and then the wealth and independence of the Jesuits attracted attention, partly because the order had become a great commercial

prospect of Hindu, Chinese, Japanese and other smaller and greater racial branches of Christianity coming into existence, leading a vigorous life and wishing to make an independent contribution\* to the sum total of Christian truth, it is clear that the future holds in store all manner of variations, and the imperative need of much large-hearted sympathy and mutual forbearance.

Can we see, looking down the nearly two thousand years that are gone, any signs of such

company with a monopoly of the trade and means of transit from Paraguay to the chief centres in S. America. In 1756 the combined forces of Spain and Portugal expelled the Jesuits from the country, *which immediately relapsed into barbarism*. Dr. Hutton, in writing the account from which this note is taken, concludes: "Charity hesitates to condemn a society which had seemed to bring to earth a golden age of Christian peace. But freedom it had not brought, and freedom, sooner or later, will always avenge herself. Christianity involves freedom, and that was what the English missions with all their failures remembered, and what the missions of the Roman Church too often forgot." (See W. H. Hutton, "The Age of Revolution"; also Lord Acton, "Historical Essays and Studies.")

\* I have omitted from the survey of the second chapter any account of the rise of the Order of Ethiopia, and of the Kleebo Schism among the Karens in Burma. Probably such movements are numerous, and would prove an interesting group of phenomena, but I have not sufficient materials to warrant detailed treatment of them here. To obtain such materials, the whole of the mission-field would have had to be circularised. I can only note in addition the remarkable dispute between Jesuits and Dominicans in China, 1645-1704, over the question of the observation of ancestor-worship by Christian Chinese.

large-heartedness and forbearance? I fear but little until recent years. Yet a few shining examples stand out.

**Dionysius of Alexandria.** 247 A.D. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, was a man of very loving disposition, charitable and persuasive. He seems always to have tried to see the good in others. When the distressing millenarian controversy arose between Nepos and Coracian, he gathered the disputants to a conference and made peace between them, and the people who attended were, we read, "delighted with . . . the conciliatory spirit and harmony exhibited by all." This spirit was due to the influence of Dionysius.

**The Alexandrian School.** Origen, and indeed the Alexandrian school generally, held that the speculations of heresiarchs were not to be vehemently condemned, because they contributed towards the enrichment of universal truth.

**Early Controversial Writings.** Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus are not tender to heretics, although we must admit that there is some excuse for them, since they were combatting in many cases a form of belief which was in the long run to prove incompatible with Christianity, and even in their anxiety to preserve the true Gospel amid the welter of Gnostic heresies the language they use is hardly more intemperate than that of Luther or of the Martin Marprelate papers.

**St. Martin of  
Tours.**

St. Martin of Tours is very gentle and Christ-like, but has to hold communion with the bishops who have sanctioned the death of Priscillian as the price at which the Emperor Maximus is willing to refrain from a general persecution of the Spanish heretics.

**Life versus  
Legalism.**

There is a curious exception in the Canons of Hippolytus (c. 220 A.D.) which allows "ordination by persecution," a concession which shows that legalism was not always triumphant, and St. Thomas Aquinas admits exceptions to baptism, such as the impossibility of obtaining it in a desert land, and baptism by fire or by blood in the case of the burning or execution of unbaptised believers.\* There is not very much of that spirit on the surface of the middle ages, though it lies deep down and indestructible, and a Church that could produce S. Francis and Chaucer's poor parson, must have had, latent at least within her, enough love for mankind to be able to tolerate differences, and the bias of individual personalities.

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\* Quoted in an official Roman manual of Moral Theology. It is really much older. See St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catecheses 3.10. . . . *πλὴν μόνων μαρτύρων, οἱ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ ὕδατος λαμβάνουσι τὴν βασιλείαν.* A somewhat similar suggestion is that of Dr. Figgis in "Churches and the Modern State," in which he urges that Free-Churchmen might have a dispensation to communicate in Anglican Churches on national occasions.

We have to remember that many of the schoolmen showed great freedom of speculation, that Wyclif was never unfrocked, but died in his parish (perhaps this was not altogether the fault of the ecclesiastical authorities), and that Abelard was never put to death.

The sixteenth century saw a good

**The Dawn of  
the Reunion  
Movements.**

deal of mud flung in controversy. The gentle Humanism of Erasmus is exceptional. Yet towards the year 1600

the first glimmers of Interdenominationalism begin to rise.

It is George Calixtus (b. 1586)

**George Calixtus,  
1586.**

who, profiting by his travels, instigates a movement greatly resembling

that of Mr. Silas McBee to-day.\* He was a theologian of the school of Melancthon and was educated at the University of Helmstädt, where he made a special study of early patristic literature. From 1609 to 1613 he travelled in Germany, Belgium, England, and France, and took pains to compare the various types of Christianity which he encountered, reformed and unreformed. In 1614 he returned to Helmstädt as Professor and remained there till his death. His leading idea was that theology must aim at producing the Christian life, and he laid great stress upon

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\* See H. Friedrich, "Georg Calixtus, der Unionsmann des 17. Jahrhunderts. Anklam, 1891."

ethics. He strove to bring about a union of Christian Churches on the basis of the Apostles' Creed and the first five centuries. In 1645 he took part in the Conference of Thorn, but was disappointed to find that the Lutherans would not work with him. He died in 1656, but the so-called Syncretistic controversy survived his death. It is to be feared that the eirenic proposals of Calixtus did not meet with much sympathy. Men seemed far too much inclined to argue on an intellectual basis, and when in 1631 the French Protestants sought to unite with the Lutherans, the Roman Catholics in France threatened

**And his  
Successors.**

to renounce the Edict of Nantes if the union was carried out. Friedrich Ulrich Calixtus (1622-1701) tried to continue his father's work, but with little or no success; and the movement gradually merged into that of Pietism. In 1676 Bishop Spinola strove to restore the Lutherans to union with Latin Christianity. Molanus of Hanover (1622-1727) was a devoted pupil of Calixtus, and the celebrated Leibnitz was also interested in the promotion of reunion. In the

**De Moulin.**

train of these men came De Moulin, who found James I. a poor supporter of his schemes, interested, but lacking in courage

**John Durie.**

and energy; also Du Plessis Mornay, and John Durie, of Edinburgh, who tried to unite Anglicans, Lutherans, and Calvinists.



Archbishop Laud\* had relations  
**Laud.** with the Russian Church, Charles I. with the Orthodox Eastern Church, Archbishop Abbott with the Eastern reforming patriarch, Cyril Lucar. The Russian patriarch, Nikon,  
**Nicon.** in his righteous reforming zeal, was the innocent cause of schism at home, but abroad he strove after friendly relations with other Christian communities. Such, however, was his enthusiasm for other types of Christianity, Latin, Greek and German, that he mortally offended the nationalist spirit of the Russians. Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, in his controversy with Bellarmine the Jesuit, displays remarkable charity, even where he differs strongly.

The exile of Anglican clergy at the time of the Commonwealth led them to take a much more friendly attitude towards Continental forms of Christianity. It is a pity that it did not make them kinder towards their Free Church brethren on their return; but we must remember that the latter had been

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\* See also his remarkable prayer, nobler perhaps than he even realised: "Gracious Father, we humbly beseech Thee to bless Thy Holy Catholic Church, and to fill it with truth and grace. Where it is corrupt, purge it. Where it is in error, direct it. Where anything is amiss, reform it. Where it is right, strengthen and confirm it. Where it is wanting, furnish it. Where it is divided and rent asunder, heal the breaches thereof, O Thou Holy One of Israel, for Jesus Christ's sake."—A remarkably large number of English books dealing with Eastern Christianity were published at this period.

intruded into their parishes by a republican government which sought to impose a new type of religion upon the people by force and law, a type which however fine in itself (we may study it at its best in Baxter) was yet not acceptable to the majority of English people.

**Robert  
Leighton.**

The saintly Scottish Archbishop, Robert Leighton (1611-1684), was a keen worker for reunion during the reign of Charles II., and vainly tried to secure the comprehension of the Presbyterians.

**Effects of the  
1688 Revolution.**

The 1688 Revolution, although it caused a schism,\* naturally brought friendly relations with the Continental Protestants by way of compensation. Reformed Continental Liturgies (so-called) were translated into English. The Liturgy of Zürich was translated in 1693 and published with a prayer written by the Antistes of Zürich for the King and Queen of England. It is rather an apologetic volume, and contains some interesting comments upon the relation of the foreign Protestants in the service of William of Orange to the English Church. It opens with a commendation or imprimatur signed by seven Anglican bishops, none of them, of course, corresponding with any of the famous seven who had been imprisoned by James in 1688, although we may remember that the courageous

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\* Of the Non-Jurors.

independence of these latter had brought them into friendly relations with the Free Churchmen of England. Another Liturgy published is that of Neufchatel, which contains a preface by Dr. Jablonski, Moravian Bishop, and Court Chaplain to the King of Prussia, urging the necessity of worship as distinct from sermons. It is evident that these books were issued with a view to conciliating High Anglicans, and in so far as they were accurate statements of fact, must have done good. We know

**Cosin.** of course, that Bishop Cosin, 1595-1672, adopted a very conciliatory attitude towards the reformed bodies of the continent—"an attitude which," says his biographer, "distressed some of his friends, and would be endorsed to-day by very few Churchmen who are in sympathy with his general Churchmanship." It is with Cosin that a good many of the instances of "occasional conformity" are connected. A good deal has been written about this of late.\* The facts are patent, and I need not enlarge upon them here.

**Wake.** In the eighteenth century Archbishop Wake (Canterbury, 1716) conducted friendly though abortive negotiations

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\* See, for example, Prof. Gwatkin's tract, "The Confirmation Rubric. Whom Does it Bind?" There is no doubt that Cosin joined in communion with French Protestants at Charenton, and that his attitude is the same as that of Archbishops Tait and Maclagan, Bishops Stubbs, Creighton, and Wordsworth of Lincoln.

for reunion with the Gallican Church. He, too, was very well disposed towards foreign Protestants ; similar persons are to be found on the continent at the same time, such, for example, as Du Pin, and the Benedictine Courayer. The various penal codes which still disfigured the Statute Book were supported rather by Erastian Nationalists than by spiritually-minded High Churchmen.

**Nineteenth  
Century  
Toleration.**

The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was a great step forward, although Protestant Free Churchmen were left under disabilities till a much later date. The works of Dean Stanley and of Frederick Denison Maurice\* were of great value, but the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century are disappointing as far as reunion movements are concerned, since the Vatican decrees and the Oxford Movement seemed to widen the distance between the "reformed" and "unreformed" bodies to an impassable chasm.

**The "Broad  
Church" School  
in England.**

**Inter-denomin-  
ationalism as a  
New Growth.**

Inter-denominationalism in fact, next to the growth of toleration, is a new growth, like Internationalism ; a modern thing, to be compared with the development of wireless telegraphy and aviation in its sudden success. This reflection should cheer us.

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\* "The Kingdom of Christ."

A rapid survey may be taken of  
**Causes.** the causes contributing to this new  
 growth.

1. The completing of toleration throughout the civilised world. Perhaps this may be thought an overstatement. Although since 1874 the brutal treatment of heretics in Russia has subsided, yet there is still some petty persecution, and in France anti-clericalism is intolerant. Intolerance, however, must not be confused with the destruction of privilege and with the dislike of unfair political advantage. Taken all together, from Russia to British Columbia the world is now, as compared with its condition in previous ages, abundantly tolerant of varying creeds, and the East is learning from the West, though in many places it has always shown a preference for diversity.

2. The scientific study of the earth. This has made us revise our chronology, and while diminishing the apparent antiquity of the Church has also taught us to look forward (as well as backward) more intelligently than was formerly our wont.

3. The scientific study of comparative religion, of the Bible, of Christian origins, and of psychology and religious experience. This has been undertaken of necessity in an inter-denominational manner. It has broken down the barriers of prejudice and destroyed cheap certainty.

4. The growth of missions and the development of colonies. These have on the one hand created new countries which are impatient of the old tradition and are keenly anxious to begin again fresh, vigorous, and clean, and to be rid of ancient quarrels, even if they retain the worthier fruits of schismatic development; and on the other hand have brought us into contact with primitive peoples, whom it is bad enough to have infected with our vices without inflicting upon them the spectacle of a string of competing types of Christianity.

5. The growth in the means of easy communication, leading to Internationalism. This is the material opportunity for the realisation of the Christian idea.

6. The pressure of materialism, and of rival religions causing a brotherhood of spiritually-minded people in general and of Christians in particular.

7. The recognition from the study of the evolution of species that *all* developments of an organism cannot be the best, but that they are worthy of scientific study and of impartial judgement.\*

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\* We notice the publication of Newman's "Theory of Development" before that of Darwin's "Origin of Species." It is said that it would land us if accepted with the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility. It is much more likely that it would land us in the shoes of Loisy and Tyrrell.



8. Attempts at the discovery and establishment of a "common Christianity" or "un-denominational" religion showed that it was impossible to sweep aside and ignore denominational differences, as they proved on examination to be the beliefs which people most valued, and which gave life and savour to their respective creeds.

Some of the practical results of the

**Results.**      above may be finally surveyed.

1. In the last decade of the nineteenth century a Parliament of Religions was held at Chicago. It was perhaps a rather ambitious assembly, and some of the communities who were invited to send representatives to it refrained from doing so, for fear of committing themselves to a surrender of their distinctive position. A much better effort was the International Congress of Religions which met at Oxford in 1908, the same year as the first Pan-Anglican Congress.\* In point of fact the twentieth century has so far been an age of congresses, religious and otherwise. A long period of peace, and greatly cheapened and improved means of communication have rendered it easy to gratify the desire of many to obtain great collective views upon important world-issues. We have had therefore

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\* Other congresses of course might have been mentioned in detail if space had permitted, such as the Congress of Liberal Religion which met in Geneva some years since, and in Paris last year (1913).

international conferences of teachers,\* of municipal officials, of scientists, of tradesfolk, and of social reformers. The Roman Eucharistic Congress of 1907, held in London, was, in spite of the opposition it aroused, a valuable thing, for it showed Latin Christianity at its best, yet with all its faults open to the public gaze. There have since been visits of German clergy to England and of English clergy to Germany, of Russian bishops to London and of English bishops (among them the Bishop of Wakefield) to Moscow. The Pan-Anglican Congress brought Japanese, Hindu, and African clergy to this country, and forced the whole Anglican communion to discuss the future with an open mind and to give respectful (if in some cases unwilling) attention to liberal views of religion. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference carried matters a step further and brought representatives of the various Christian denominations together in order to discuss missionary problems with an eye to the future. The Lambeth Conference of Bishops, which followed the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908, issued an elaborate report, in which special attention was given to relations with the Moravian Church, the Old Catholics of Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Austria, and the Scandinavian Churches. This was a step further than that

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\* The writer was not long since privileged to preside at a fraternal gathering of Russian and English teachers held in an L.C.C. School in London.

of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, which looked chiefly towards reunion with purely Protestant bodies on the basis of the celebrated Quadrilateral :—

1. The Holy Scriptures.
2. The Nicene Creed.
3. The two Great Sacraments.
4. The Historic Episcopate.

This Quadrilateral was re-affirmed by the 1908 Conference as a basis for discussion with a view to possible reunion, and gatherings of Anglican and Free Church clergy have since been held throughout the country in accordance with the suggestions of the Report. Swedish Christianity in particular has been an object of great interest to Anglicans. The late Bishop Wordsworth, of Salisbury, visited Sweden, and wrote a scholarly treatise upon its church, and in 1904 the American Episcopal Church passed a Canon which enabled American Bishops to license Swedish services in the churches under their care. In the autumn of 1913 the Bishop of London visited Sweden and had a consultation with the Lutheran Bishop of Gothenberg. In the same year the ninth International Conference of Old Catholics was held at Cologne, and was attended by the Anglican Bishop of Willesden, by representatives of the Bishop of Gloucester, and by a member of the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union, while a Mr. Lodygensky brought an official greeting from the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, and Lutheran delegates

were also present. The Bishop of Haarlem also visited London, and attended at Holy Communion in St. Mary's Church, Charing Cross Road, where services are regularly held in German for the benefit of Old Catholics. The last two events are the results of work done by the Society of St. Willibrord.

2. Inter-denominational study of Christian origins and history has gone on apace, and theological societies exist at the Universities and elsewhere, at which Romans, Anglicans, and Free Churchmen unite in friendly discussion. The saints are common ground, and in the study of practical examples of the Christian life and the contemplation of great spiritual geniuses, many barriers have vanished away or been broken down. Rome, in spite of herself, is being liberalised. Modernism in France cannot be suppressed. The Gospels in the vernacular are being widely read, and Roman theologians are entering more and more freely into the field of modern scholarship. It is urged again and again that the Index makes no pretensions to infallibility, and spiritual directors deliberately permit their enquirers to read books which appear upon it.

3. Two of the most remarkable reunion movements of recent times have taken their rise in America, and are closely related one to another. Mr. John R. Mott, an American Presbyterian, inaugurated some ten years ago what is known as the Student Christian Movement, with its fellow,

the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. The object of the former is to unite Students at Universities throughout the world who have become convinced Christians, irrespective of their denomination. The object of the latter is to impress upon all such students the imperative Christian duty of the evangelisation of the world, and to unite all who are willing to pledge themselves to work at some time in the future in the foreign field. Both these movements have had an enormous numerical success, and have circulated a vast quantity of literature. In England an annual camp-conference has been held, first at Conishead, then at Baslow, and afterwards at Swanwick, where a kind of standing camp for summer conferences of all sorts has been established. The method of conducting the conference is strictly inter-denominational, and so tactfully have the proceedings been managed, that in 1913 Roman Catholic representatives were induced to attend for the first time, a proof, if any were needed, of the fair-dealing of the promoters of the movement. In 1911, Mr. Silas McBee, formerly editor of the "New York Churchman," undertook a tour throughout the world, in which he visited the official leaders of all the various Christian denominations, and secured from them promises to contribute articles to a new Quarterly Review, to be known as the "Constructive Quarterly." His success seems to have been substantial, for the

Quarterly has now been in existence for a year, and has certainly received a remarkable variety of contributions. A somewhat similar work is being undertaken by the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference, which is publishing an International Review of Missions on an inter-denominational basis; and a lesser known publication is that of the Anglican Central Board of Missions, which each year makes a comprehensive survey of *all* Christian work in one section of the foreign field.

A third great movement, about which it is impossible to write much, is the World Conference on Faith and Order. This is now at work. Once more the initiative comes from the New World. A manifesto has been issued for action to be taken in three years' time, and the outlook is hopeful.

Free Church reunion has gone on rapidly. In 1903 the Presbyterian denominations were reduced to two, which are now negotiating. There has been a tremendous unifying of the scattered denominations of the United States. In England the formation of the Evangelical Free Church Council has led to an important federation of communities, and to the issue of the Evangelical Free Church Catechism, which reveals a surprising amount of agreement among the Free Churches on the theological expression of their faith. "Apart from the Unitarians and one or two very small sects, the great mass of them are entirely at one in spirit



and aims. . . . They do not regard their differences of organisation as any real hindrance to the unity of the Spirit and to common service.”\* A general interchange of pulpits sometimes takes place, followed by a united communion, in which an immensely high spiritual level is reached.

**Final Con-  
clusions.**

The reader may impatiently exclaim at this point: “But what is the obstacle to a general reunion in this generation?” The reply is easy. I think that the vital necessity for the scientific spirit has been demonstrated. Reunion itself requires to be undertaken in this spirit. It demands the brain of a scientist, the touch of a master surgeon, the tact of the finest diplomatist, and the purest atmosphere of Christian love.

The pace must not be forced. Yet when need arises we must be bold. It is desirable to remember that against the few hundreds who are workers for inter-communion must be set the millions who know little and care less. They will do what custom and their leaders prescribe. Many Christians belong to backward nations. It may sometimes be necessary to go the pace of the slowest. A clumsy touch may postpone the hope of unity for generations. Education in simple facts is sorely needed as a preliminary. In some respects mere elementary education is

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\* W. B. Selbie, “Nonconformity.”

needed. Thus in Russia, out of a population of 162 millions, rather less than 25 millions only are able to read and write. The Scottish Presbyterian Reunion of 1903 showed conclusively that however important it may be to base a religious movement upon sound principles of scholarship, it can never be victorious until it becomes popular. A reunion remains but a paper agreement, unless ratified with the overwhelming applause of the congregations involved.\*

We must not lose a grain of the truth. We must *full-fill*, and not destroy. We must not hurriedly throw away what we possess without taking trouble to examine it and test its merits. We must see what each can contribute. We must face the fact that all developments are not healthy, and that some must be pruned away; and that in such pruning our own turn may come for making a sacrifice. Nevertheless we must insist on a real comparative study of all Christian institutions. Think what a revelation it would be if an academic comparison could be drawn between the discipline of confirmation candidates in an English parish, and their discipline say in Uganda and in Delhi; or between the various methods of qualifying for and admitting to full membership of the Christian

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\* Arianism spread through rimes sung by the workmen at their labours and by boys at street corners. The Pope declared that the Lutherans "sang themselves into heresy."

Church, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican and Roman. Such studies if undertaken in the schools of theology would produce a very different handling of ecclesiastical politics from that which prevails in some quarters.

The scientific study of Christian origins does not permit us to believe in the sanctity and immutability of any one uniform system of Church organisation or doctrine, although we may be led to believe that some form of organisation and some expression of the truth will develop through the agency of the Holy Spirit, preferable to others, and that such an expression, when found, ought to be treated with respect, and modified if necessary rather than discarded. The Church does not exist for government's sake alone ; therefore organisation must never be merely ornamental, but severely utilitarian. Once unity and continuity are safeguarded, no antiquarian sentiment ought to stand in the way of modification. Truly as says Lord Bacon in his essay on Unity in Religion: "They be two things, unity and uniformity." Our divisions may indeed be unhappy. Our divergences need not be.

## APPENDIX I.

### THE KHOJAH SECT IN BOMBAY.

A short outline of the history of this community may be interesting to some.

In 1866 a curious property-dispute came before the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay. A certain old gentleman named Aga Khan had, it appears, become notorious on account of his horse-racing proclivities. On enquiry it was found that he was the hereditary spiritual head of a Mohammedan sect called the Khojahs, and that the money which he had so lavishly been circulating upon the turf was really a species of tithe, extorted from his unhappy subjects under pain of excommunication. The scandal at length attained to such dimensions that the wiser and wealthier and more intelligent and educated minority among the Khojahs could endure it no longer, and solemnly seceded from the corrupt majority. They were of course excommunicated by their overlord, and deprived of their privileges of membership. They then entered an action against Aga Khan and the majority of the Khojahs, arguing that the very large property belonging to the caste was orthodox Mohammedan property, and that they as Sunnis (the minority declared themselves such), were the persons really entitled to the possession of it. The case came up for trial before Sir Joseph Arnould, and lasted twenty-five days, during which the unhappy English lawyers had to dive deep into the ancient sectarian history of Mohammedanism. It was argued in defence of Aga Khan that the Khojahs had never been Sunnis, but had acquired this property as Shi'ahs, and that the minority therefore could claim no share in the trust funds, seeing that they had deliberately declared themselves to be Sunnis, and that the trust funds were Shi'ah property.

The latter argument commended itself to the learned Judge, who however much he may have privately dissented from the dissolute obscurantism of the disreputable Aga Khan,

clearly saw that history supported the latter in his claim to be the hereditary ruler of the Khojahs, who as long as they existed as a religious corporation with certain definite tenets were bound to obey him. He, therefore, declared that he could find no cause for interference, and ordered judgement to be entered for the defendant, with costs.

In the course of his summing up, he made the two following remarkable statements, remarkable if we compare the attitude of English Judges towards the Church of England, as a religious corporation. Doubtless Mohammedan law produces a different situation !

(1) "In every community, whether of a religious nature or not—whether Church, Chapel, Caste, or Club—there must, as requisite for the preservation of a community, and as inherent in the very conception of a community, necessarily exist a power, not indeed to be exerted except in extreme cases, and on justifying grounds, of depriving of the privileges of membership those who persistently refuse after due notice and warning, to comply with those ascertained conditions of membership to which by the very fact of being members of the community they must have given an implied, if not an express consent."

(2) "It is quite clear that in every community, having to a certain extent a religious character—and such the existence shows to be the case with the Khojah community—there must be vested an ultimate power, in cases of obstinate refusal to comply with the defined conditions of communion, to deprive recusants of the privileges of communion ; in other words, to excommunicate them ; nor do I see how such a power can be more properly exercised than by the act of the whole community, on the suggestion and by the direction of its spiritual Head. That Aga Khan is the Spiritual Head of the Khojahs has in my judgement, been clearly made out by the evidence, and to say that, as such, he is not to have a potential voice in determining who, on religious grounds, shall or shall not remain members of the Khojah community, appears to me entirely unreasonable."

## APPENDIX II.

### THE CASE FOR SACRAMENTS.

[NOTE.—In the three chapters of this volume I have tried to present the question of reunion historically. In this article, which is here reprinted, I have ventured to express my opinions as an Anglican upon a possible way by which sacramental unity amid considerable doctrinal diversity might be achieved.]

This paper is meant to be a challenge and an appeal. It is time that we tried to clear our minds about the place which Sacraments ought rightly to hold amongst Christian people. In the process we shall clear our minds about the ministry. Sacraments and priesthood go together. The "indirect" method of obtaining grace involves a mediating ministry, and the general tendency of those who discard the latter is to reject the former also. On the one hand, a huge mass of Protestantism is anti-sacramental. On the other hand, Romans—and with them many Anglicans—seem to have deviated into raving madness over the Sacramental system.

"We have outgrown Sacraments," said a speaker at the Newcastle meeting of the United Free Church Council this year, and his opinion is shared by a large body of his co-believers. We may dispute its universal application; yet it is based not merely on prejudice against sacerdotalism or magic, but on critical grounds and on experience. Sacramentalism is shown by students of religion as a whole to be largely dependent upon race and temperament, and to be closely linked up with a certain phase of development—namely, that of the mystery religions,—and certainly it has at many times very easily deteriorated into magic. In dealing with the New Testament, the tendency is to regard the Last Supper as one among many meals of a like sort, and to look upon the order for its perpetuation as a later insertion. It is, indeed, difficult to understand how we can base our authority for the Sacraments upon the New Testament alone, seeing that to do so



involves a literalism, the use of which, in dealing with the Sermon on the Mount, we should be the first to decry. In appealing to the witness of the Church we are on slightly firmer ground, since it is clear that the early Christians believed that their Lord intended them to baptize converts and celebrate a common meal with a special intention at frequent intervals. To describe this witness in every detail however as "age-long" is to overlook the fact that Christianity is yet in its youth, and may change its outward expression considerably before it reaches the close of its development. The most we can say is that God in Christ contemplated the development of a visible society of those believing on Him, and that He provided two ordinances, one of initiation and one of Fellowship, and a body of trained leaders as a rallying point. The rest He left to the workings of the Divine Spirit, co-operating with man's intelligence. The multiplication of Sacraments and the exact form taken by baptism and communion are things which cannot possibly be fixed once and for all.

Moreover, if we view Christianity as a life lived in the world in union with Christ, there are whole tracts of experience which exist entirely independent of the Sacraments, and Christ's words about feeding upon His Body and Blood, quite apart from the fact that they occur in the Fourth Gospel, cannot be limited to a sacramental act, but have a general spiritual significance.

It is useless to try and tie people down to the discovery of Christ's Presence solely in the Eucharist.\* When they are conventionally-minded, they tend to find what they are taught to look for; but I am convinced that quite a large proportion of communicants are disappointed because they expect to encounter a mystic experience of Christ in the Sacrament of Holy Communion. For this is not a universal discovery. It involves the coincidence of two totally different sorts of experience. Sacramental experience is normally corporate. Together with our brethren, we are lifted up into the heavenly places and thrilled with corporate emotion by all performing

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\* Sacramental individualism in the Eucharist is, I am sure, only a phase except among persons of a peculiar temperament. The Evangelical grandparents of our young sacramentalists of to-day were just as closely in touch with our Lord as any of their descendants can ever claim to be.

the same act, and as it were unitedly touching the Divine. A similar experience encounters us in Confirmation (the real completion of Baptism). Here Christ comes to us *through* humanity. But the mystic experience of Christ is not necessarily connected with any sacramental ordinance. It may intermittently accompany communion, but is not to be confused with the permanent sacramental experience which accompanies the latter.\* Many mystics find Christ directly quite independent of any Sacrament. Although they may have been taught that they ought to find an individualistic experience of our Lord in the Eucharist, they insist that they find Him better in the privacy of their own chambers. A letter from one such lies by me at the moment, describing an experience in the sort of language usually associated with Lady Julian of Norwich,† and the writer concludes: "Communion leaves me cold, save for the sense of God present behind the mass of humanity in the congregation." (I paraphrase a much longer sentence.) The writer is a young electrician of strong passions and varied interests. If we regard Sacraments merely as a help to mystic experience, then most certainly they can be outgrown, even in a lifetime.

I suppose Anglicans for the most part have too little contact with Protestant dissenters to be able to realize how large and solid a mass of non-sacramental individualist experience of our Blessed Lord there is—much too large, fervent, and fruitful to be airily dismissed with the words, "uncovenanted grace." Nevertheless, Sacraments are essential to a society. It breaks up without them. In any organization such as Freemasonry, where brotherhood and the corporate life are the very "esse" of the institution,

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\* The value of a Sacrament is usually stated somewhat thus:—"It demonstrates the fact that God's Presence does not depend on the subjective feeling of the individual, and prevents Him from being reduced to a mere experience." This is no doubt true, but after all what use is a God who cannot be experienced? And is not the ultimate certainty of the Sacramental Presence the fruit of a corporate experience on which in the Sacrament we lean very hard? "He was known unto them in the breaking of bread." That is the testimony of their experience. It is *their* story, not His.

† "I saw Christ our Lord, and He kissed me upon the mouth, and He was crowned with thorns, yet they did not hurt me." The writer is entirely unacquainted with mystical literature.

sacramental acts persist. The position of the great Bible in dissenting chapels, and its solemn reading and exposition, formed a Sacrament until recently undisturbed. Biblical criticism having dethroned it, we see the non-sacramental brotherhoods dissipating themselves.

My contention finds its support in an unexpected quarter. I refer to a long note appended to the last edition of "The Body of Christ" by Bishop Gore. This note was first issued in 1900 as a separate article in "The Pilot," and afterwards reprinted. Nearly all of it is important; but I must be satisfied with extracts.

He says: "There is a great deal—perhaps a disproportionate amount—of teaching about the Sacraments being given in many of our Anglican pulpits to-day. They are enforced from the side of authority. They are enforced as means of grace to help the individual life. Their adaptation to our twofold nature—material as well as spiritual—is ably and truly set out. But I cannot but think that their moral appeal to what is best in men would be made infinitely greater if their connection with the Church as an organised brotherhood, if their obvious social bearing were more dwelt upon. For in fact if we consider them one by one we shall perceive easily enough how exceedingly important a part of their meaning and efficacy lies in the fact that they are ceremonies of a society."

He then surveys the Sacraments, greater and lesser, in turn after the fashion indicated, and concludes:—

"It is not only within the area of Protestantism that an over-individualistic way of thinking about religion has prevailed. It prevailed also in the unreformed theology of the Reformation period and the subsequent epoch. There, too, the tendency was to regard the salvation of the individual as the main, or almost sole, object of religion. *The same tendency dominated the revival of sacramental teaching in the Tractarian movement.* But that movement restored to us the idea of the Church. And what we now need is to let our thought of the Church and of the Sacraments recover its original *social* colouring, so that we may restore the conception of human brotherhood to its true and dominant place among Christian conceptions." (The italics are my own.)

Canon Masterman, in his little book on the Holy Spirit, writes : " What need of Sacraments, when God's grace is all around us? Why water with a garden hose flowers that are (adequately?) watered by the rain from heaven? To this we may answer that Sacraments differ from other means of grace in that they belong to the life of a society."

May I now venture to issue a positive statement, which, of course, will be open to criticism?

Christ is the Fountain-head of the true and highest life of communion with God. Christianity is essentially *the* religion of grace given. Through Christ there comes to all sincerely devoted persons God's grace or help to live their daily lives. But in the sight of God every soul has two aspects.

(1) It is an individual of infinite worth, to be treated as though it were the only being in the world.

(2) It is a being intimately connected with other like beings, and incapable of reaching its full development alone.

Probably in no two persons are the two aspects similarly balanced. Race, temperament, and up-bringing produce an infinite variety of combinations. God in communicating grace, which is the food of the soul, intends that both aspects of it shall be nourished. Christ's religion is in some ways singularly independent of Sacraments. On the other hand, its essentially social aspect has grown up mainly around two Sacramental acts :—

(1) An admission ceremony of lustration.

(2) A sacrificial fellowship meal.

In other words, because the double aspect of the human soul is fundamental, therefore it is recognised by Christ. In prayer and meditation, in Bible-reading, in solitude, in daily tasks (especially of routine), in thought and silent reflection, the individual spirit grows strong. But the atmosphere of its development is the Church. In the social ordinances of that body the individual spirit merges into the brotherhood, and in living and worshipping alongside of its fellow confirmees and fellow communicants, regarded as persons towards whom it has a moral obligation, it broadens and deepens, filled with the love of the brotherhood and the thrill which the consciousness of that brotherhood brings—the consciousness of Jesus, God immanent in humanity. It thereby develops new and beautiful

features which it otherwise could not possibly possess. The results in the lives of Sacramentalists do not support their theory of the superiority of Sacraments as means of grace. The value of Sacramental grace is nevertheless enormous as a solidifying, steadying, binding power; and the neglect of it, while accompanied by many strange and marvellous shapes of spiritual beauty, has invariably led to more and more unbridled individualism. A non-sacramental life may quite fairly be regarded as one-sided, just as an excessively sacramental life may be regarded as one-sided. The disuse of Sacraments leads to certain defects in the proportion of the lives of non-sacramentalists, just as the non-cultivation of the individualist means of grace produces certain defects among the Sacramentalists. The enforcement of Sacraments by authority as the only sure means of grace is plainly seen to issue in the revolt of certain types of race and temperament.

The practical issues of this positive statement are somewhat numerous.

(1) First of all, it suggests that we ought to eliminate as far as possible everything that tends to emphasize non-social and individualistic teaching on the Sacraments. We must persuade people to give up teaching and speaking about "my communion."

Prayers and hymns suggesting individualism in Communion must be discouraged.\*

There is no doubt an exceedingly strong case in favour of the spectacular mass as the solemn memorial of the One Great Complete Sacrifice, and the pleading of it again and again for the needs of mankind in every place and generation, only in the planning of the service everyone ought to have something to do, and ought not be left entirely as a spectator to the individualism of his or her own private prayers.

It does not seem wise to encourage *very* frequent communion. Only quite a small proportion of the people who are

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\* This, for instance:—"My Good Jesus! I am about to have the joy of receiving You into my heart. The little white Host which the priest will give me under the form of bread is You, my adorable Jesus! You hide Yourself that You may come down to me." This is from a Communion book for little children issued under the imprimatur of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham, but hardly less individualistic devotions are to be found in Anglican manuals.



to be found in close attendance upon any Christian altar are really healthy-minded Christians. A good many clergymen of long experience are, I believe, in favour of fewer and larger corporate acts of communion; and those who achieve the best corporate results often encourage non-communicating attendance.

The most frequent communicants are often adherents of the religion of devotion, which is not the same as, and certainly inferior to, the religion of love. They are not good people to know intimately. So far from being *more* social, they are often *less* social, and appear to suffer from spiritual dyspepsia induced by over-eating. Probably a good many of them, if they had not been brought up to be surly Sacramentalists, would be equally surly anti-sacramental mystics.

The sick should be encouraged to receive the reserved Sacrament, as this is a much better way of emphasizing the unity of the body of Christians. It is contrary to the fundamentally social nature of communion that the whole service should be celebrated in a sick room without a fair-sized congregation. Curiously enough, it is the sick and isolated folk who most of all value the Sacraments, just because they crave for the sense of God in a brotherhood to hold them. It is the weak mountaineers who are most encouraged by being roped together; the dwellers in lonely places who most value the post-bag.

Except in cases of urgent necessity, baptism ought to be as public as possible. It is essentially reception into a family, enrolment in an army. A private Sacrament, such as are some fashionable baptisms, is a contradiction in terms.

(2) On the positive side we must repeatedly present the Sacraments as social means of grace. This will involve a re-construction—nay, a revolution—in much current Eucharistic teaching. Bishop Westcott's notes on the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel may perhaps prove suggestive. The extreme sacramentalism of the Tabernacle system must be vehemently discouraged, as something which is retrograde and pregnant with falsehood and unhealthy individualism. The very phrase, "the prisoner of the Tabernacle," suggests magic, which is the attempted compulsion of God by man.



(3) Thirdly, we ought to stimulate Christian folk to a much deeper individual life of devotion. This ought not to be difficult in an age when the mystic way is increasing in popularity. God's grace for the individual is still by multitudes very little sought; the effort after a quiet, deep, personal experience very seldom made or encouraged.

The clergy seem afraid to let their people grow too independent of them, preferring to make them docile and to tie them down overmuch to their ministrations. Methodist writers continually speak of "waiting upon God." If only we could get our ordinary congregations to do so in the privacy of their own chambers or in their country holidays, what a rich store of grace would be poured upon them! Dr. Figgis and other writers of the same school lay stress upon the simplicity of the washing and the meal. To be quite fair, they ought equally to emphasize the simplicity of conversion and of bedside or workshop prayer. Non-sacramental Christianity may be one-sided. It certainly is no harder to experience, as any old Cornish "Methody" woman can testify. We ought to encourage people to be fearless in their search for spiritual uplifts. They will not all attain them along the same lines. We must accustom them to the belief that there is room for many avenues of insight into the deep things of God.

(4) Finally, in dealing with those who do not accept the idea of an officially ordained and unbroken succession of ministers (the mechanical continuity of which must in any case remain in dispute), we must try to show that the care and regularity with which an official ministry is maintained are essential because that ministry is the guardian of the social means of grace. The clergy are no doubt the chief shepherds of men's souls; but not the only shepherds. They are rightly (or ought to be) specialists in religion; yet not the only specialists. They are guardians of a "deposit of faith," yet only as public officials holding no esoteric monopoly, who must be ready to submit their charge to the search-light of historical criticism. But as stewards of the mysteries of grace they hold a unique position. Religion in its social aspect needs more safeguards and more elaborate organisation than in its individual aspect. So do many other things—morality, for example. Here each man is guardian of his own character;

yet we have law courts, police, and prisons, and a host of philanthropic departments. I believe we find here (incidentally) justification for a written liturgy, and for the use of *some* ceremonial, vestments, fasting, etc., which are serviceable in guarding the order and dignity of a corporate act. Room must be allowed for local and national variations in detail.

The Christian Church will probably change much in outward appearance during the next few centuries, and Latin influence doubtless decline. But if the essentially "brotherhood" element in Christianity is to survive, and if men of varying types and different races are to hold together in a real unity combined with diversity, then the historic ministry (limited neither by class nor nationality) must continue, to safeguard the administration of the Sacraments. This need not in the least hinder the Church from recognising the priesthood of every lay member, nor yet the diverse ministries of preachers, gospellers, revivalists, missionaries, colporteurs, contemplatives, healers, bible-women, and so forth. In the Church of the future we *must* make room for the charismatic and the official ministries alike, each with its proper sphere of action. In this way both aspects of human life will be developed, and the whole man will be larger, more charitable, and more fully conformed to the pattern of Christ; and the Church will go on her way, more comprehensive, yet having lost nothing that was true.

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“Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.” Gunkel  
and Scheel.

“The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religion.”

(The latter is a mine of information on the subject of  
American sects.)

*For the first chapter* I have been largely indebted to the  
authorities cited by Dr. A. S. Geden, “Studies in the  
Religions of the East,” in fact I may say that I have  
employed his *Bibliography* almost entirely. I would also  
refer to the writings of :

Prof. Gilbert Murray,

Miss Jane Harrison,

Prof. Bury,

The late Dr. Adam, on the subject of Greek Poly-  
theism,

Dr. Frazer's works on Comparative Religion,

Mr. Lewis Spence's “Myths of the Mexican Religion,”

Mr. Hughes' “Dictionary of Islam,”

Prof. Margoliouth's “Early Developments of Moham-  
medanism,”

Mr. C. F. Andrews' “The Renaissance in India,”

The late Mr. Arthur Lloyd's “The Creed of Half  
Japan,”

Mr. Weigall's “Akhnaton.”

English “translations” of Eastern sacred books are to be  
approached with caution, for only a few are complete, and  
most are abridgments which tend to present a biased  
view of the whole.

*For the second chapter* I have had to refer very largely to :

Harnack's “Ausbreitung des Christentums,”

Prof. Bury's edition of Gibbon,

The Cambridge Medieval History,

The Cambridge Modern History,  
 The late Archdeacon Cheetham's "Church History  
 since the Reformation,"  
 and to the authorities they give.

But I have had to go further and study the references to early sects in the various Patristic collections, which I am afraid to save time have been read in translations such as that of the "Ante Nicene Library" and the series edited by Robertson and Wace. Many authorities, such as Mr. F. C. Conybeare's edition of the "Key of Truth," and Guiraud's "Cartulaire" have been cited in the text and need not be again referred to. For the 14th and 15th centuries I should mention

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan's "England in the Age of Wyclif," and

Bp. Creighton's "History of the Papacy."

The Literature of the 16th century Reformation is of course enormous, but I do not think any substitute can really be adequate for a perusal of Calvin's "Institutes," icy though they may feel, for a survey of the documents of the English Puritan Revolution, and for the commentaries and letters of Luther. We have to bear in mind that Calvin was as widely influential as Harnack, and quite as much quoted! I am indebted to the Rev. Dendy Agate for drawing my attention to an interesting book on Baptist Origins, entitled "Smith, the Se-Baptist."

The works of Prof. Rufus Jones have already been mentioned, and are exceedingly valuable.

Jansenism is best studied in connection with the writings of Pascal.

For the later period I would mention :

Ranke's "History of the Papacy," now accessible in a good translation at a moderate price, also

Dr. Nielsen's "History of the Papacy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," and of course,

Lord Acton's Essay on the Vatican Council.

John Wesley's Diary and Jacob Boehmé's "Signature of All Things" have recently been re-printed by Messrs. Dent.

For Eastern and Russian Church History I would mention  
Dr. Adeney's "Greek and Eastern Churches,"  
Prof. Burkitt's "Early Eastern Christianity,"

The new standard "History of Russia," by Prof. V.  
O. Kluchevsky, and the writings of Count Tolstoi.

The manual of Nonconformity, written by the present  
Principal of Mansfield College, though small, is an excel-  
lent guide to larger works on the subject.

*For the third chapter* most of the authorities cited at the head  
of the previous list hold good.

The writings of Laud, Cosin, Wake, and Leighton are  
worth study.

Messrs. Mowbray have recently published a new life of  
Cosin, but, as might be expected, it is partisan in tone.

W. C. Dowding published at Oxford in 1863 the "Life  
and Correspondence of George Calixtus," but it is now  
difficult to obtain.

Besides Dr. Hutton's book, referred to in a footnote, I  
should mention Muratori's "Missions of Paraguay," pub.  
1759.

The Reports of the Various Lambeth Conferences are  
worth study, also the Literature of the Student Christian  
Movement.

In conclusion I should like to thank the Assistants of  
the Rylands and Chetham Libraries in Manchester for  
their unfailing courtesy, and the Rev. J. Wright, Minister  
of Bowdon Presbyterian Church, for some valuable  
suggestions.

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